The Outlook

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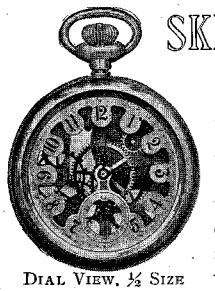

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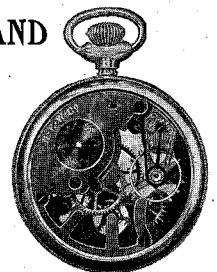

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1905

The Senate and Arbitration

In its action on the pending arbitration treaties the Senate has set itself in opposition not only to the public sentiment of the country but to a great onward movement of the civilized world. The State Department, our readers will remember, has negotiated treaties with Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, Portugal, Italy, Mexico, and Denmark. These treaties have not been drawn up between the State Department and the various Foreign Offices concerned without long, detailed, and painstaking correspondence and conference. Their purpose is to provide for the submission of future disputes touching certain questions between the United States and these foreign Governments to the Hague Court. Article II. of these treaties reads as follows:

> In each individual case the high contracting parties, before appealing to the permanent court of arbitration, shall conclude a special agreement, defining clearly the matter in dispute, the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, and the periods to be fixed for the formation of the arbitral tribunal and the several stages of the procedure.

It has been made clear by the President and the State Department that to amend these treaties is to vote against them. As a result of the long preliminary negotiation carried on by the State Department, the foreign Governments concerned have accepted the treaties in their present form as a minimum, and to add meaningless and absurd amendments is to put the country into a humiliating position and expose it to the risk of having foreign Governments regard the American Government as insincere. The Senate, while professing to approve of the principle of arbitration, now proposes to change the treaties by such an absurd and meaningless amendment. It eliminates the word "agreement" in the above printed article, substituting therefor the word "treaty." It thus makes each general treaty read virtually as follows: "We solemnly agree to submit disputes hereafter to arbitration whenever we solemnly agree to do so." No amount of impassioned eloquence or technical language can obscure the fact that this action of the Senate is farcical in the last degree. One or two men, like Senator Bacon, of Georgia, and Senator Morgan, of Alabama, are opposed to the whole principle of arbitration and frankly say so. They prefer the fire-eating and cowboy method of "shooting up" the town whenever there is a quarrel with the bartender. With such men it is impossible to argue. The country must simply wait for less narrow-minded and more patriotic men to take their places. But it is surprising to find men like Senators Spooner and Lodge eloquently defending the ridiculous policy of "we agree that we will agree when we agree to agree." They profess to see the destruction of one of the great safeguards of the Republic—that is to say, the eternal and inalienable right of each honorable Senator to put his particular thumb in every possible political pie—if in these special treaties the right is delegated to the executive department to arrange the details of cases to be hereafter presented to the Permanent Court at The Hague. We do not think the country, in this matter, shares their fear or respects their abnormal feeling of self-importance. The United States Senate is one of the very greatest legislative bodies in the world; its opinions and its legislation exert a profound and far-reaching influence upon modern political civilization; but occasionally it forgets that ideas and principles, and not prerogatives, make statesmen great, and acts like a parcel of suspicious and irritable busybodies.

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Is the Constitution Involved?

We have said in the preceding paragraph that the Senate in its reactionary attitude on the arbitration treaties has set itself in opposition to the best public sentiment of the country. Of this there are many clear indications. It has been intimated that the South is opposed to the treaties because of the fear that the repudiation of Southern State bonds may under them become a subject of arbitration. As a matter of fact, however, some of the best Southern men in the Senate, such as Senators Clay, of Georgia, Foster, of Louisiana, Clarke, of Arkansas, Overman, of North Carolina, and Taliaferro, of Florida, have favored the treaties in their unamended form. A few weeks ago a public meeting was held in Richmond, Virginia, under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce, at which Governor Montague presided, and at which some notable addresses were made in support of the treaties, chief among them being that of Mr. Hannis Taylor, ex-Minister to Spain. Resolutions were passed favoring the ratification of the treaties. Similar ratification meetings were held at the same time at other points in the State. In the North, at the recent annual meeting of the alumni of Amherst College, in Boston, attended by three hundred graduates from all professions and walks in life, the pending treaties in their unamended form were unanimously indorsed. The New York "Sun" reports that Senator Spooner, "much to the surprise of some of his colleagues," made an impassioned defense of the proposed amendment. "The Senate cannot," asserted Mr. Spooner, "under the Constitution, by ratifying these or any other treaties, lend its functions and powers to the executive so that thereafter he can make special agreements without further reference to the Senate." Mr. Spooner is an able lawyer, and his contentions must be taken as having been made in a serious spirit. The Constitution provides that the President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur" (Article II., section 2). Notwithstanding Senator Spooner's authority as a Constitutional lawyer, it seems to The Outlook absurd to contend that, under this Article of the Constitution, the President and Senate acting together cannot make a general treaty agreeing to refer all questions of a certain class which may arise between this country and other countries to an international tribunal for settlement. Senator Spooner may honestly think he has raised an important Constitutional question. If there is a Constitutional question involved, in the opinion of The Outlook, it is one which concerns the constitution of the Senate, not the Constitution of the United States. In an admirable letter addressed to Senator Cullom and made public last Saturday, the President gives what seems to us unanswerable reasons for believing that the treaties with the proposed Senatorial amendments would be worse than useless.

❀

Mr. McCall on Rate Regulation

The Townsend-Esch Bill passed the House of Representatives last week by the extraordinary vote of 326 to 17. The 17 votes were from the States of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. We do not recall any action so unanimous as this in recent times, except the appropriation of fifty millions of dollars in preparation for the Spanish war. The Townsend-Esch Bill is by its advocates acknowledged to be imperfect, but no opportunity was allowed for offering amendments. The majority, therefore, must be regarded as indicating not so much a unanimous approval of the methods of the Townsend-Esch Bill, as of the principle upon which it is founded, namely, the right of the Federal Government to control the freight rates of the inter-State railroads. The most effective speech against this principle of which we have seen any report was that of Mr. McCall, of Massachusetts. It was devoted, not to a criticism of special methods, but to an argument against any fixing of rates by Governmental action. He declared the objections to the bill to be twofold: first, that it does not deal effectively with the real evil against which public opinion is aroused, and, secondly, that it provides for the exercise of a dangerous

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power with inadequate safeguards. The public complaint is not that rates are too high, but that they are unequal and inequitable, and therefore to a bill prohibiting special rates he would not object; but this bill gives Government power to establish rates. "I agree," he said, "to regulation, but it must be a regulation not incompatible with the fundamental principles of private property." "Railroads are private property and are operated by private capital." "This bill crosses the line between regulation and confiscation, and outrages the most patent principles of justice." Passing this bill, he argues, will not satisfy public prejudice; on the contrary, it will feed the appetite which it is proposed to satisfy, and be followed by still greater and more unjust demands. The present American railway system "is the crowning glory of industrial America." Allowing Government to regulate rates is, he thinks, destructive of the system under which these railroads have been built, and will tend to confiscate the property invested, to reduce the wages of the laborers employed by them, and to corrupt the people. For the engineers of this rate-fixing device "must justify the proceeding by cutting down rates, or there will be no public benefit from this standpoint;" and the consequently lessened profits "must be taken either out of the owners of the property or out of the wage-earners." Against this peril there is no adequate safeguard; "the Commission which you endow with such transcendent power will sooner or later inevitably become a political body. It will respond to public demand for lower rates." And this policy, while confiscating property and lowering rates, will, he concludes, corrupt Government and will engender at Washington "a heated center of despotism destructive of the last appearance of individual freedom."

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Mr. McCall's Fallacies

Readers who desire to acquaint themselves with the strongest arguments against the fundamental principles of Governmental regulation of railways will, we think, find them in this speech of Mr. McCall, republished from the "Congressional Record" in the New York "Sun" of February 10, and in the paper of President Tuttle, of the Boston and Maine Railroad, published in The Outlook of last week. Three fundamental fallacies seem to us to underlie Mr. McCall's speech. First, his notion that the public want lower rates, or that the effect of this bill would be to lower the rates. The public wants steady and equable rates. They want to prevent, not merely unjust discrimination between individuals, but unjust discrimination between towns. At present railroads can, and not infrequently do, enrich one shipper and bankrupt another, build up one town and destroy another. They can, and they often do, charge more for carrying the same goods in the same cars on the same line to one station than they do to another station hundreds of miles farther from the shipping point. These evils are not merely occasional and incidental, they are inherent in a system which affirms that the public highways are private property, and are to be operated, not in the general interest of the public, but in the special interest of the owners, and that the shippers are in each case to be charged, not an equitable price, considering the cost of operation and a reasonable profit, but "all that the traffic will bear." Mr. McCall partly recognizes this truth in saying, "Let us make the amplest provision the law can make for the absolutely equal treatment of everybody by the railroads." This is precisely the object which the people of the United States have in view, and America's experience of unequal treatment under the present system, and England's experience of equal treatment under a system of rate regulation by Government, as reported by us in last week's Outlook, combine to indicate that some form of Government control of freight rates is the only method of securing such absolutely equal treatment.

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Railroads Not Merely Private Property

Mr. McCall assumes, in the second place, that railroads are private property, and that Government regulation is inconsistent with the rights of private property. Neither contention is

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sound. The railroads are a combination of public and private property. The value of the railroad depends partly upon its roadbed, its terminal, its rolling stock, and partly upon the franchise or right of way which the public has given to it. It is a public highway operated by private capital, but not therefore to be controlled by the private owner. The public have a right to a voice in the administration because the very existence of the railroad depends upon the franchise created by the public. But even if the railroad were absolutely private property, this would be no reason why the Government should not regulate its administration. A city lot is private property, but the owner cannot build upon it except subject to Government regulation. Alcoholic drinks are private property, but the owner can neither keep them nor sell them except as Government may direct. The hacks in a great city are private property, but the hack fares are regulated by the municipality, and any hackman who charges more than the prescribed fare is liable to arrest. Upon precisely the same principle the Government has a right to regulate the administration of the railways and fix the rate they may charge, if such regulation is proved by experience necessary for the welfare of the public. In a civilized community all private property must be used subject to such governmental regulations as are necessary for the public welfare.

❀

Trust the People

Mr. McCall's address seems to us, in the third place, to be founded on an inherent and ineradicable distrust of the people. Give them an opportunity, he declares, and they will fall an easy prey to "the demagogue ever ready to bribe the people in the mass with the money of somebody else," will make war on the railroads, confiscate private property for supposed public advantage, convert the Commission from a judicial into a political body, and the Government at Washington into a "heated center of despotism." We believe that these apprehensions are wholly unfounded. That there are perils in democracy we do not doubt, but they are not so great as the perils in oligarchy, and of all oligarchies a plutocratic oligarchy is the most perilous. It is far safer to trust the plain people than it is to trust any special class, whether of blooded or of moneyed aristocracy. We have little doubt that the Townsend-Esch Bill can be advantageously amended. We are glad that it is likely to be a subject of popular discussion throughout the summer. It is not impossible that the inherent conservatism of the Senate and the special interests therein represented may for a time delay the incorporation in Federal legislation of any method of Governmental rate regulation. But that the end of this decade of experiment and of agitation will be some form of Government participation in the real control of the railroads of the country we cannot doubt.

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The Hay-Bond Treaty and Other Matters

Not content with obstructing the arbitration treaties, the Senate proceeded last week so to deal with the Hay-Bond Newfoundland treaty that its present condition has been aptly described as "amended to death." This treaty is essentially a reciprocity treaty, and, as agreed upon by the respective Governments of the two countries, contained mutual concessions believed to be for mutual advantage. Thus, the United States gained the privilege for our fishing vessels to purchase bait in Newfoundland, to procure supplies there, and to be free from various vexatious charges; and most of our manufactures were to be admitted free of duty into the island, while with the excepted articles maximum rates were fixed and it was agreed that even these articles should never be taxed at a higher rate than might be imposed on the same articles coming from other countries. On the other hand, Newfoundland was to gain by the admission free of duty into the United States of coal, coal-oil, and certain metals and ores, together with the right of entry of fish and fish products. The Senate's amendments have taken out of the treaty all the advantages that Newfoundland would receive except the admission of fish and fish products which are fresh—all kinds

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of dried and preserved fish and prepared fish products being carefully excluded. This leaves hardly any advantage to Newfoundland, and is obviously such a one-sided bargain that our Government cannot be expected to ask that of Newfoundland to consider the treaty in its amended form. Thus the arduous and careful work of experts and of the administrations of both countries is totally thrown away and further effort in this direction is willfully discouraged.——The Philippines Civil Act was signed last week by the President; its main provision, as already outlined in The Outlook, is the guaranty by the government of the Philippines of not more than five per cent. income from the bonds of railways to be constructed in the islands. Under this bill General Wright assumes the title of Governor-General instead of that which he has held, namely, Civil Governor of the Philippines. The President has sent a special message to Congress urging a complete scientific survey of the archipelago.——The Panama Canal Zone Bill, considered by the House last week, abolishes the present Panama Canal Commission altogether, but gives the President authority to continue any of the present Commissioners as consulting engineers.——The House on Friday of last week passed 433 private pension bills in one hour and a half.——In the House of Representatives a bill has been reported out of committee which would limit the number of immigrants from any one country to 80,000. This is a mechanical, arbitrary, and whimsical way of dealing with a vital matter. The problem of immigration is not one of numbers, but of quality and distribution.——The Philippines Tariff Bill, which revises the duties and makes new schedules as approved by Secretary Taft, is to be favorably reported by the House Committee on Ways and Means.

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The Statehood Bill

In the condition in which it passed the Senate the Statehood Bill, now before the House of Representatives, admits Oklahoma and Indian Territory, taken together, as one State, and New Mexico as another, leaving Arizona a Territory. The lower House is not likely to accept the measure; in fact, at a Republican conference a vote of 112 to 33 declared in favor of insisting upon the original policy of the House of Representatives—that is, the admission simultaneously of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one State, and New Mexico and Arizona as another. Speaker Cannon and other leaders at this conference showed some resentment at the Senate's attitude. Nevertheless, the suggestion has been widely approved by the press that Congress do now the one thing that almost all people agree is in itself desirable, namely, create Oklahoma a State (with the Indian Territory or without, as may seem best) and leave the disputed questions for the future to decide. Apart from possible motives of party political advantage, it would be hard to find a reason against this course. With the Indian Territory Oklahoma would have an area of over 70,000 square miles; that is an area half again as large as New York. The population of the two Territories in 1900 was nearly 800,000; it may be nearly or quite a million now. What is far more important than mere size and numbers is the fact that this growth is of a sound American character and that this population is of the agricultural class, in the main intelligent and containing the elements of good citizenship. The Indian Territory section is well populated; many people will be surprised to learn that it has more inhabitants to the square mile than has Texas. The progress of the plan of giving the Indians their land in severalty has removed one serious obstacle to Statehood. A writer in the New York "Evening Post," in a careful survey of the actual conditions in the four Territories proposed as States, singly or in pairs, points out that Oklahoma has less illiteracy than Massachusetts, while New Mexico has greater illiteracy than any except four States in the Black Belt. Under these circumstances it seems hardly fair to compel Oklahoma to wait longer for a deserved honor until unanimity can be secured upon the other propositions. Exactly four years ago Mr. Charles M. Harger in an illustrated article in The Outlook gave an interest-

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ing description of Oklahoma and advanced cogent reasons why it should be, what he called it in the article's title, "The Next Commonwealth."

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King Oscar

In consequence of illness, the burdens of state have become too heavy for King Oscar II. of Sweden and Norway, and he has made Crown Prince Gustaf Regent, subject, of course, to revocation and reassumption of his regal functions at any time. It is reported that the King has no acute disease, but that he finds the responsibility and work of his position a great tax in view of his advancing age. He is seventy-six years old, and although a man of extraordinary physique, being the most commanding figure among the European sovereigns and as powerful as he is massive in build, has suffered somewhat from declining strength of late years and finds the difficulties which are constantly occurring in the attempt to administer the affairs of Norway and Sweden with satisfaction to both countries an increasingly heavy burden. It will be remembered that Oscar II. is the grandson of Marshal Bernadotte, one of the many self-made men of the French Revolution, who, beginning in the office of a country notary, became First Marshal of France and later King of Sweden. Two brothers stood between Oscar II. and the throne. He had marked taste for poetry, general literature, and music. He had also a passion for travel, and found special pleasure in traveling through Sweden and Norway incognito. It was impossible for him, with his imposing height and his great position, to escape recognition, but the fiction was kept up out of regard for his own wishes. The death of both his brothers made him next heir to the throne, and he was crowned in 1872. The Government was then almost an oligarchy; to-day it is a constitutional monarchy of the freest and most popular type. The King has had almost as difficult a place to fill as that occupied by the Emperor Francis Joseph, and has shown many of the same qualities, although he is a man of more vigorous character than the Austrian Emperor. There has been almost constant friction between Norway and Sweden for many years past. The Norwegians are a vigorous and manly people, with a strong sense of independence. They have at various times asked for greater freedom in their relations with Sweden, laying special emphasis on the appointment of their own consuls and foreign representatives, and there have been times when it looked as if an acute crisis between the two countries were approaching. The King has endeavored to cultivate a friendly feeling, although he has stood resolutely on the preservation of certain prerogatives. He has been, nevertheless, a thoroughly democratic sovereign, of great simplicity of manner, always accessible to his people, and he has shown, on the whole, rare tact and diplomacy in the crises in the relations between the two countries which have occurred more than once during his reign. He has also been called upon to act as referee in international arbitrations, and has been a conspicuous figure in world politics. In a recent address to the Storthing at Christiania, Professor Hagerup, the Prime Minister, said that the failure of the negotiations between Norway and Sweden in regard to the question of independent consular service for Norway threatened to injure the relations between the two countries; that Norway must now make provision for taking up the national and international position to which she is entitled as a sovereign State, and that if this could not be achieved within the terms of the existing treaty of union with Sweden, new forms for the co-operation of the nations must be considered. The retirement of the King at such a stage in the relations of the two countries gives importance to the fact that Prince Gustaf is believed to be much less liberal than his father.

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Church and State In France

The Rouvier Ministry has begun its career by bringing in the draft of a new bill for the separation of Church and State, by the terms of which the Concordat establishing the existing relations between Church and State is abolished, all Government aid and subsidies to religious sects or functionaries

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discontinued, and all Church associations compelled to become civil corporations amenable to the same laws as other organizations. The first article of the thirty-two articles which make up the bill declares that the State henceforth neither recognizes nor contributes to any religious denomination; that public establishments of religion now existing are to be suppressed, together with all religious budgets of appropriations of Government departments or communes, and that the exercise of religion is hereafter free, under the sole restriction that exercise must accord with public order. In an explanation of this measure, presented by the Cabinet, it is declared that the separation of Church and State is one of the essential reforms promised by the new Ministry, that the bill lays down conditions under which that separation may be carried out, that in framing it the Government has followed closely the lines adopted by the Commission of the Chamber which made an examination of the whole question; and that it wishes to guarantee entire liberty of religion, limited only by questions of public order. Furthermore, it declares that the endeavor has been made, under the provisions of this bill, to provide a smooth passage from the old to the new régime, regulations being made for the transfer of property belonging to suppressed religious establishments, for placing churches at the disposal of religious bodies, and for pensions to ministers.

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The Russian Disturbances Continue

The industrial situation in Russia continues to be threatening, and the strikes, thought to be diminishing, last week again grew in number and volume. In St. Petersburg it was reported on Saturday that 30,000 workers were out, and that there was fear that the revolutionary societies would take an active part in the agitation. At Lodz extensive conflicts occurred between troops and strikers; the latter were demanding pay which they claimed was due them; they resisted the police; and troops were called in who fired upon the crowd, killing twenty or more and wounding at least fifty. At another industrial center, Sosnovice, exactly similar events occurred, with even a larger number of killed and wounded. In other parts of Russia, and particularly in Poland, the strikers have been aggressive, and there have been many minor disturbances. In St. Petersburg strikers have held many open-air meetings, and have requested Governor-General Trepoff to permit them to send a delegation to see the Czar and present a programme of their grievances and the labor reforms they desire. It is declared on all hands that the two delegations, so called, who were admitted to the Czar's presence and lectured by him were in no sense representative, but were chosen by the employers for the express purpose. If the Czar is unwilling to see delegates from the striking workmen, it is possible that another attempt may be made to march to his palace in a body, although the absolute certainty that such a movement would provoke another tragedy like that of January 22 is recognized. In every respect the industrial situation is ominous. A political tragedy of serious import was the assassination on Monday of last week of the Procurator-General of Finland, Soisalon Soininen, at Helsingfors, by a young man said to be a student and a revolutionist.

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Exchanges of Professors Between America and Germany

Baron von Sternburg, German Ambassador to America, who recently returned to this country, confirms the report already mentioned in The Outlook that the Emperor is taking an active interest in the plan looking towards an exchange of professors between Germany and America. On another page of the present issue of The Outlook will be found an interesting letter on this subject from Professor Francke, of Harvard. An exchange of professors between America and Germany would tend, first, to the development of German-American friendship—a thing always to be desired; secondly, it would serve both as an inducement to our men to go abroad to hear the men not to be heard here, and to bring two or three

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of these men to our shores, to give advantages to those who need to go abroad and who cannot afford that luxury—who need the touch of a master-hand like that of Harnack, for instance, and yet have not the means to go to Berlin. Speaking of Harnack, we note an article by him in the latest number of the "Preussische Jahrbücher" on this very subject. The distinguished savant points out that the great scholars of the Middle Ages were not tied fast to any one country. Germans lectured at Naples and Bologna, Italians at Paris and Cologne, Frenchmen at Oxford and Cambridge. Professor Harnack also refers to some of the men of the present day who have followed these examples. Lord Kelvin, Sir William Ramsay, and Fridtjof Nansen have lectured in Berlin, and Max Müller in Strassburg. Professor Gregory, though an American by birth, is now a professor at Leipsic, but has given a course of lectures in America while retaining his German professorship. According to Professor Harnack, the easiest way to inaugurate professorial exchanges is to invite distinguished men from abroad to give short courses, say from four to eight lectures each; but, if possible, a professor should be called for an entire six months' tour, or even longer. Finally, Professor Harnack declares himself emphatically in favor of the notion which most students cherish, we think—that it will always be best for young men to hear about the literature, economic and social affairs of another country from a professor of that country, and in his own language. For instance, no amount of industrious study can give to German students the insight into these subjects that he can get from a native of America. We trust that ere long a system of professorial interchange will be inaugurated between Germany and America, if for no other reason than that, though of all the civilized States the most remote from Germany in space, America is intellectually the nearest and most closely related. Too much praise can hardly be given to the German Emperor for his interest in the matter. In 1901, at Berlin, as the result of his initiative in donating a fine collection to the Germanic Museum at Harvard, a meeting was held to consider ways and means of furthering the Germanic propaganda. Professor Francke, of Harvard, was the representative of that University, and put forth the suggestion of a professorial interchange. The result was the draft of a provisional agreement for an exchange of professors between Harvard and Berlin. The agreement has now reached its consummation in an official proposition by the Prussian Government to the Harvard Corporation. The Kaiser proposes to extend the exchange to other universities both in Germany and America.

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Beautifying American Cities

When one considers the vast pile of buildings which has been flung upon the island of Manhattan almost without order, the proposal to give to that chaos beauty and something like symmetry seems a dream impossible of realization. Yet this is what the New York City Improvement Commission proposes that the city shall do. Already, indeed, there are signs that the people of New York are beginning to value beauty as well as utility, and New York has never hesitated at being ruthless in the destruction of buildings if such destruction was necessary for construction of something commercially profitable. The Subway has been an instance of that spirit which does not hesitate to tear down in order to build. The two great railroad stations which the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads are to build will involve the same kind of destructive rigor. Mr. Whitney Warren, the architect of the Commission, in speaking before the City Club last week, laid down the general proposition that he would not have recommended such a plan for improvement as the Commission contemplated if it did not promise to be commercially profitable to the city; and he pointed out, moreover, that facility in transit from one part of the city to another, enhancement of real estate values, and increase in healthfulness, were all as integral a part of the plan as æsthetic improvement. All these results of the plan were, he

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made clear, simply the factors of a general proposal to make the city more "livable," and hence more civilized. He referred to the example of European cities—Rome, an ancient city rebuilt more than once; Paris, whose uniformity of architectural plan bears scarcely a single reminder of the ugly Paris of a century or more ago; London, now in the process of upheaval—compared with which New York, a city in transition and in parts still uncommenced, offered an unperplexing problem. Mr. Day, who followed him, showed by word and lantern pictures what cities even in the United States have already undertaken towards transforming squalor and ugliness to beauty and efficiency in municipal design. The examples of St. Louis, St. Paul, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Boston were stimulating, each bearing witness to the possibility of solving some particular civic problem. The New York City Improvement Commission was appointed a year or so ago by the Mayor, and has had the benefit of an appropriation by the Board of Aldermen. Its plan, therefore, is an official plan and not the vision of doctrinaires. If New York City undertakes to put this into effect, it will be a noble achievement, but no greater than that which has brought fame to the sleepy old city of Pisa.

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Water Supply and Wastefulness

The problem of maintaining an adequate supply of water for the city of New York is serious if not threatening. The State has deliberately limited by law the sources of supply. One region, the valley of the Ramapo, from which water may be derived, is in the control of a company which has in the past been suspected of attempting to loot the city treasury. As it is now, the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx are supplied with water from watersheds which, after all improvements now under way are finished, cannot be made to yield more water to meet the needs of an increasing population. Mayor McClellan has done a public duty in emphasizing this problem and in encouraging popular discussion of it. He favors the creation at once of a Commission to plan and put into operation a more comprehensive water supply system. It is clear, however, that no temporary expedients ought to be tolerated. Access to the Catskill Mountains has been proposed. But if this means destruction of beauty in forest and stream simply in order to postpone and not to solve a problem, it should be blocked by the people of the State. New York City should be compelled, if it will not undertake it freely, to plan now its water supply system, not for a few years or decades, but for all time. In the meanwhile it ought to see to the prevention of the enormous waste of water that is caused by leakage in the mains and by bad plumbing. It is estimated that the waste due to bad plumbing alone amounts to over forty millions of gallons every day. The total waste, it has been said on high authority, is, at a conservative estimate, nearly half again as large as the supply of water which would be abundant for all uses. In other words, if the city could prevent the waste now allowed, it would more than double its water supply without interfering with the freest use of water and without utilizing any other sources. The people in other portions of the State have a right to object to the wholesale condemnation of land simply because New York City chooses to be outrageously extravagant and wasteful in the use of water.

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Progress in Religious Education

In view of the third annual Convention of the Religious Education Association in Boston this week, it is interesting to note that some worthy progress has been made during the past year in applying present-day knowledge in history, literature, Biblical criticism, social problems, and pedagogy to methods of religious education. This year the fourth triennial Sunday-School Conference of Michigan Congregationalists was held in January. Three years ago not a little was done toward bringing the weekly instruction in the churches into closer harmony with the best Biblical scholarship. This year the Conference is likely to result in bringing such

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instruction into harmony with intelligent acquaintance with the ways of the child's mind. An even more concrete instance of progress is the result of the Friends' General Conference held in Toronto last August. At that time a committee, on which were a number of educators, reported a plan for graded lessons, to be used in the First Day Schools. It is designed that these lessons shall be adapted to the needs of the pupils as they reach various stages of development. Their scope is much larger than a course of Bible study. Up to the age of eleven years the lessons are designed to acquaint children thoroughly with the stories of the Old and New Testaments and with the lessons derived from them, with moral lessons drawn from nature and lives of noted people, and in the latter years of this period are designed to train the children in memorizing passages of Scripture and other literature. At thirteen years the history and geography of the Bible are introduced. At fourteen or fifteen, study of the Society of Friends is introduced, with reference to such matters as the care of the poor, obligation of membership, and moral and spiritual truths for which the Society stands. At sixteen or seventeen the Bible is again taken up, with the purpose of meeting the special difficulties which confront the growing boy or girl. The subjects are the Prophets and the Gospels as sources from which the solutions of questions which are forcing themselves upon the adolescent may be derived. At eighteen a year is devoted to a literary study of the Bible and a comparison with other sacred books of the world. Under this head would come such subjects as the Canon, Hebrew Legislation, Poetry of the Psalms, Harmony of the Gospels. At nineteen begins a period of social study. Practical questions, such as those which confront a poor and dependent family, are stated, and answers are sought for from the most enlightened sources. The resources of various communities are studied. After this age come the adult classes, in which are followed advanced courses in Bible study, Church history, ethical and social problems, and the like. It is expected that this graded course will influence the Sunday-school libraries by bringing to their shelves books of reference of value to both teachers and pupils. This course has been adopted by the Society of Friends, and is to be put into use at once.

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Unwise and Impolitic

Chancellor MacCracken, of the New York University, in a speech to the undergraduates of the University last week, took a very sensible position in regard to the proposal to invite five thousand college men to take part in the parade on the occasion of President Roosevelt's inauguration. In the history of the country probably no President has appealed to undergraduates of colleges and universities more directly than Mr. Roosevelt: his interest in college affairs, the range of his activities, the force and picturesqueness of his character and career, have endeared him to the college men of the country. That they should desire to have some recognition in the parade on the day of his inauguration is very natural; but the attempt to take one-tenth of the entire body of college men to Washington on the occasion of the inauguration seems to us unwise from many points of view. The expense involved would be very considerable; the loss of time from the college year, already shortened beyond sound limits, to five thousand men would be still more important. There are better ways in which students can express their interest in Mr. Roosevelt and their patriotic feeling than by taking three or four days of time from the college course and spending from thirty to one hundred dollars each. Congress has already appropriated a considerable sum to provide for the attendance of the students from Annapolis and West Point on the occasion of the inauguration. There is, however, in the case of both these institutions, obvious reason for the participation of students in the parade who are to be the professional servants of the Nation. But there is no reason why colleges and universities not technically allied with the Government should be asked to give up one-tenth of the entire student body for three or four days; the interruption of work is too serious and the expense too

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heavy. The country will be better served in the case of these students if they remain at their posts and do their regular work. This is precisely the characteristic which has taken Mr. Roosevelt from a police commissionership to the Presidency of the United States.

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The New Red Cross

No surer guarantee for the future usefulness of the American National Red Cross Association could possibly be given than is found in the names and recognized ability of the officers chosen last week at the first annual meeting held under the new charter, the adoption of which has been recorded in The Outlook. The new President is William H. Taft, Secretary of War, in whom most emphatically the people of the United States have confidence as to judgment and high motive. The other officers elected are: Assistant Secretary of the Treasury C. H. Keep, Treasurer; Assistant Attorney-General Louis Pratt, Counselor; and Charles L. McGee, Secretary. An executive committee was also chosen, which includes the Hon. Francis B. Loomis, Assistant Secretary of State; General George W. Davis, Dr. John C. Boyd, U.S.N.; Mr. James R. Garfield, Chief of the Bureau of Corporations; ex-Secretary Herbert, Surgeon-General Wyman, and Miss Mabel Boardman. It is the intention of the organization to begin an active campaign in every State and Territory for the upbuilding of the Red Cross. Committees of twelve in each State are planned, and it is hoped that in this way the membership may be largely increased and the Red Cross become in a fuller and truer sense than before a National society.

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An Official Legislative Adviser

Industry and commerce have long recognized the need and desirability of expert advisers; but the legislators of the State of Wisconsin are the first State lawmakers to maintain a permanent official legislative adviser and expert. The duty of this new official, officially termed the Legislative Librarian, is primarily to collect and place at the disposal of the members of the State Legislature material regarding every conceivable matter which might come before them for consideration and action—railroad control, taxes, factory legislation, municipal regulations, etc. He is expected to furnish statistical data, make written or verbal reports, and give advice as to the proper draft of a proposed bill. His assistants clip newspaper items and catalogue magazine articles; correspondence is carried on with experts regarding various subjects of probable legislative action; the work of Congress and of the various State Legislatures is carefully followed, and copies of bills are obtained. Books and reports are collected. A thorough card index system is used, which makes it possible to get at any desired information in a very short space of time. When a bill is about to be drafted, the author comes to the Legislative Librarian for information as to the legislative action in other States on the same subject, and for advice as to the proper form of the bill. Committees which are considering certain bills ask him for exact, unprejudiced information. The arguments of the pleaders for special interests may thus be refuted or given their proper setting through information placed in the hands of the committeemen by this librarian. The present incumbent and originator of this office is Dr. Charles McCarthy. The system now used in his library in the State House at Madison is of his own creation. Dr. McCarthy is a trained economist, having received the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin. He is a pioneer in what will undoubtedly prove to be a useful field for the well-trained economist and political scientist; one in which scientific training may bear direct practical fruit. During the present session of the State Legislature as many as forty-one calls have been made in a single day for information upon as many different subjects. It is Dr. McCarthy's earnest desire that this work be taken up in other States. The Legislative Librarians can then be of mutual benefit and assistance, and would become a potent factor in bringing about more uniform legislation in the various States. The influence of such officials,

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if competent and protected by civil service rules, will tend to improve the character of State legislation, and will gradually remove the distrust of the State Legislatures which is so generally felt in all sections of the country. Ignorance as well as corruption or political influence is the cause of much ill-timed legislation. Under present complex industrial conditions the average State legislator is absolutely unable to cope intelligently with the situation without an expert adviser who can place accurate, concise, and unbiased information and data at his disposal. If the legislator has no one to whom he can turn for accurate information, he is often overwhelmed and forced to yield to the elaborate and technical statements of the trained lobbists and expert pleaders.

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The President and the Negro

A Step in Advance

The President's Lincoln Day speech before the New York Republican Club, on February 13, was characteristic: like all his speeches, it was a message with a definite theme. Spending no time in eulogies of the Republican party or politics, and none in any defense of himself or criticism of his critics, he devoted himself with singleness of aim to an elucidation of the principles which should be applied in the solution of the race problem. It is his first public utterance on this subject since he became President, his letter apropos of Dr. Crum's appointment being devoted only to a single phase. We attempt here no abstract of this speech, which we trust all our subscribers will read for themselves. The fundamental principles enunciated and applied by him may be thus epitomized, partly in his own crystalline sentences:

We must approach this problem in Lincoln's spirit of malice toward none, charity toward all, firmness in the right.

The problem is that "of so dealing with the man of one color as to secure him the rights that no one would grudge him if he were of another color."

The South is not alone responsible for Southern conditions, and our help, when practicable, and our heartiest respect are due to "the brave and earnest men of the South who in the face of fearful difficulties are doing all that men can do for the betterment alike of black and of white."

No immediate solution is possible; ultimate solution can be reached only by the effort "to secure to each man, whatever his color, equality of opportunity, equality of treatment before the law." Every man struggling upward by industry, energy, self-respect, and perseverance is entitled to our respect and help, whatever his color. "The only safe principle upon which Americans can act is that of 'all men up,' not that of 'some men down.'"

In the long run, every man's fate, white or black, "must depend far more upon his own effort than upon the effort of any outside friend." The colored man who is indifferent to the crimes of colored men is the worst enemy of his own race.

The social question "must, of course, be left to the people of each community to settle for themselves, as in such a matter no one community, and indeed no one individual, can dictate to any other." "There must be no confusing of civil privileges with social intercourse."

The principles laid down by Bishop Strange, of North Carolina, in his address in New York last fall (see The Outlook for October 8, 1904) are reiterated by the President as those in which we can surely all agree: liberty, equal industrial opportunity, equal rights before the law, equal political privileges—"suffrage based on character and intelligence for black and white alike," "the same public advantages of education; the public schools are for all the people, whatever their color or condition."

In its thoroughly human spirit, in its clear apprehension of great principles, in its intensity of conviction and its sobriety of utterance, and in its nervous, compact, epigrammatic style, this speech will, in our judgment, take not only the first rank among the President's speeches, but a place among the classics of American political oratory. The President closes it with a strong expression of his

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faith in the American people and their ability to meet with and solve this problem: "I believe in the Southerner as I believe in the Northerner. I claim the right to feel pride in his great qualities and in his great deeds exactly as I feel pride in the great qualities and deeds of every other American. For weal or for woe we are knit together, and we shall go up or down together; and I believe that we shall go up and not down, that we shall go forward instead of halting and falling back, because I have an abiding faith in the generosity, the courage, the resolution, and the common sense of all my countrymen."

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The President and the Indian

A Step Backward

If the importance of the President's action in authorizing the expenditure of Indian trust funds for sectarian schools could be measured by the amount of money expended or the interests directly affected, The Outlook would not recur to the subject again. But the importance of this action is not to be so measured. It is vital and fundamental, because the action violates a vital and fundamental principle of the unwritten constitution of the American commonwealth, a principle incorporated in the written Constitutions of many of the States, and implied in the written Constitution of the United States. That we may make perfectly clear our criticism of the President's position, we restate that position here in his own words:

"There was, in my judgment, no question that, inasmuch as the legal authority existed to grant the request of the Indians, they were entitled, as a matter of moral right, to have the moneys coming to them used for the education of their children at the schools of their choice. Care must be taken, of course, to see that any petition by the Indians is genuine, and that the money appropriated for any given school represents only the *pro rata* proportion to which the Indians making the petition are entitled. But if these two conditions are fulfilled, it is, in my opinion, just and right that the Indians themselves should have their wishes respected when they request that their own money—not the money of the public—be applied to the support of certain schools to which they desire to send their children. The practice will be continued by the Department unless Congress should decree to the contrary, or, of course, unless the courts should decide that the decision of the Department of Justice is erroneous."

This position is untenable, for two reasons.

I. Indian trust funds *are* "the money of the public." There are only two kinds of money, private money and public money. Money which belongs to an Indian tribe is just as truly public money as money belonging to the city of New York or the State of Rhode Island. It is not Federal money, but it is public money, and it is a fundamental principle of the American commonwealth that public money—that is, money belonging to any community as such—shall not be appropriated to the support of any church or any church school. There is a certain proportion of citizens in New York City who wish to have their share of the public money of that State "used for the education of their children at the schools of their choice." This is not allowed. The public money can be expended only in schools which are under the direction and control of the public. If they wish to educate children "at the schools of their choice," they must educate them by private moneys.

So long as the tribal funds are tribal funds—that is, so long as they belong to the tribe as a tribe—they are public moneys. Indians of one denomination should no more be permitted to take any part of that money for denominational schools than the people of any particular denomination in New York City should be permitted to take a part of the public moneys belonging to New York City for denominational schools. No man has laid more stress than Mr. Roosevelt on the fact that the same principles are to be applied to Indians and to Anglo-Saxons, to black men and to white men. He has violated this fundamental principle of his own life-teaching in proposing to

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allow the public moneys of the Indians to be used at the request of some Indians for denominational schools of their own selection.

II. These Indian funds are at present trust funds—that is, they are held by the United States Government as a guardian for the benefit of the Indians who are its wards. The reason why funds are held by a guardian and not given to the ward is because it is assumed that the ward is not competent to decide how those funds shall be expended. As long as the United States Government is guardian for the Indians, so long the United States Government must bear the responsibility of determining how the Indian funds shall be expended. It cannot rid itself of that responsibility by saying that its wards want the money spent in some particular fashion. The guardian must decide whether that is a right fashion in which to spend those funds. We cannot believe that Mr. Roosevelt holds that it is wise for the public funds of a community to be divided up among the different denominations for the support of denominational schools. If he does not so believe, then he ought not, as guardian, to order such division of the trust funds of the Nation's wards. The fact that some of the wards ask to have the funds so expended does not justify the expenditure.

We do not for an instant suspect Mr. Roosevelt of any complicity in what appear to have been the underhanded methods by which this untoward result has been reached, or any knowledge of the agreement, testified to and not denied, by which certain election districts were to be carried for the Republican party in return for Republican influence in support of denominational schools, or that he knew, what has now been testified to, that over $55,000 has been given to schools where the *pro rata* of the petitioners would be less than $2,000. We can well understand how, without considering the principle involved, he gave his approval to the support of Indian schools which he believed were doing a good work, out of money which he hoped before long would become private funds which the Indians might expend as they pleased. But the mistake is none the less vital and fundamental. The Outlook last October said of Mr. Roosevelt that the celerity of his judgments are due to the fact that he determines on certain well-considered principles of action, and by those principles determines particular questions before him. If he had followed that course in this case, taken cognizance of the fundamental principle that public moneys, whether the public is a Nation, a State, a city, a village, or an Indian tribe, whether it is composed of white men or black men or red men, are never to be appropriated to the support of ecclesiastical or church institutions of any kind, he would not have fallen into the serious mistake into which his kindly nature has led him.

The Outlook does not criticise the Roman Catholic Church for the action of certain Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in securing these appropriations. Presumably, they belong to that party in the Roman Catholic Church which holds that the Church ought to educate the children and that the State ought to support the Church. They are therefore consistent in securing an appropriation of public money for church schools. On this ground, and on no other, can the President's action be defended. But this ground is destructive of our public-school system. Unconsciously, the President has lent himself to an attack upon that system. Unconsciously, he has given his influence in support of the un-American section in the Roman Catholic Church. This is the reason why his action has inspired such earnest and general protest.

In difficult cases the highest courts sometimes order a rehearing, and on such a rehearing sometimes reverse their previous decision. The Outlook appeals to the President to give such a rehearing in this case. If he should reconsider his previous decision in the light of the little good and the great evils which have resulted from his action, we cannot doubt that on such a hearing he would reverse his decision.

It requires a peculiar kind of courage to say to the public, I have made a mistake, and to correct it. Mr. Roosevelt has made so few mistakes that this type

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of courage has never been fairly tested in him. He would add to the admiration which he has deservedly won from the American people if he were to say frankly, My action, founded on the judgment and recommendation of others, was mistaken, and were to alter his letter of February 3 by saying to the Secretary of the Interior, The principle of denominational appropriations out of Indian trust funds will be discontinued by the Department unless Congress should decree to the contrary. If he should say this, it is very certain that not a dozen members of either the House or the Senate could be rallied to the support of such a decree.

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The Church as a Club

It is sometimes said that the modern church is a club. What kind of a club? Some clubs are simply social organizations, maintained for the pleasure of their members; other clubs are organized to promote some cause which the members have at heart. Thus the Cobden Club of Great Britain is organized to promote free trade, the various Republican clubs in this country for the purpose of disseminating the principles and promoting the policies of the Republican party, the City Club of New York to promote municipal reform. If a church is administered mainly for the social or spiritual happiness of its members, it belongs in the first category, and does not deserve the title Church of Christ. If it is organized for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of its members in their endeavor to disseminate the principles and promote the spirit and life of Christ in the world, it belongs in the second category, and is a Church of Christ.

The function of the Church of Christ is not simple but complex. As a social organization, it is founded upon and endeavors to promote spiritual fellowship; it assumes that men are children of God, and that in their divine sonship they find a ground of fellowship, however dissimilar they may be in social rank, in intellectual and æsthetic culture, or in political opinion. The Christian Church does right to lay emphasis upon this spiritual fellowship, to bear witness to it, and to cultivate it. As a worshiping organization the Christian Church is a body of men and women who have a common experience of love toward God, of gratitude to him, of penitence because they have sinned against him, of desire for closer communion with him, and who associate themselves together to give common expression to this their common experience. As a school the Christian Church employs teachers, one or more in the pulpit, a score or more in the Sunday-school, some paid, others unpaid, whose object it is to acquaint themselves with the principles and precepts inculcated by Jesus Christ, to be possessed of his spirit and then to imbue others with that spirit, and teach to others those precepts and principles in their application to all the complicated relations of human life.

But the Christian Church is more than a spiritual fellowship, than a worshiping community, than a school of disciples. It is organized to disseminate throughout the world the principles and the spirit of Jesus Christ. Club it may be—social, spiritual, worshiping, educational—but it is also a club organized for a definite propaganda; as much so as the Cobden Club, the Republican Club, the City Club. If it forgets this object of its organization, allows it to fall into abeyance or even into the background, it presently ceases to be a school of Christ, and the teaching of its ministry becomes theological, or ethical, or literary; it ceases to be a worshiping community, and æstheticism takes the place of penitence and prayer and praise; it ceases to be a spiritual fellowship, and becomes a class church.

No doubt at different times different phases of the church work need to be emphasized. At the present time the phase which most needs to be emphasized is the missionary phase. The Church needs to direct its energies to the fulfillment of its function as an instrument for the propaganda of the precepts, the principles, and the spirit of Jesus Christ. It needs to do this for its own sake, in order to lift its teaching to a higher spiritual level, to infuse its wor-

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ship with that kind of enthusiasm which comes only when work is mated with worship, and to revivify its social fellowship with spiritual recognitions. But it needs to do this even more for the sake of the world without. We do not stop here to speak of the doors of opportunity open to the Church of Christ in foreign lands. The American world needs the message of the Christian Church, and there are abundant indications that the American world is ready to listen to that message, if the Church is prepared to render the service and endure the self-sacrifice necessary to give the message with efficiency.

We do not here discuss methods. Each church must study its own community and adapt its methods to that community's needs. The "Congregationalist" tells of one church in Boston in which fifty persons have each promised to seek to bring one other into loyal service of Christ; of another at New Haven which proposes a pastor at large to labor among a group of churches as a permanent factor of their work; of conditions at Pomona such that Christians are asked to remain away from the evening meetings to make room for those who are not avowed Christians. In some communities the Young Men's Christian Associations are holding evangelistic meetings in halls and theaters which are thronged with men who rarely go to church. Dr. Dawson in London organized a procession something analogous to the Salvation Army bands, and with fife and drum marched through the streets, gathering a crowd, and so bringing them into the hall or church. In some localities the coming to the church of a well-known preacher from some other community may be sufficient to secure attendance by those who rarely attend upon church services. In other communities the same result may be secured by a union meeting of all churches. No special method is essential. What is *essential* is that some method should be devised and put into execution by which the church, which has been for the most part simply a teaching organization, instructing those who are already members or their families and special friends, shall become a missionary organization disseminating the principles and precepts and spirit of Jesus Christ throughout the community. What is *desirable* is that the method devised for this purpose shall be as little sensational as possible. The less men can point with wonder or surprise, saying, Lo here, Lo there, the more the method will conform to the method which Christ himself employed, and the less danger will there be of those emotional excesses and of that ultimate reaction which have sometimes accompanied what are known as revivals of religion.

Sometimes the voice of the Master to the Church is, "Come ye apart into a desert place, and rest a while." To-day it is, "Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled." To hear, to apprehend, and to obey this command is, for the Church and the ministry, the duty of the hour.

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The Mystery of Personality

Those people who find the mystery in which life is enveloped an obstacle to peace of mind and faith in the ultimate good do not understand that a world bare of mystery would be a world devoid of meaning to the spirit, however it might justify itself to the mind. Order is doubtless one of Heaven's first laws, since Heaven is at the farthest remove from chaos; but order is only an arrangement of things, a logical sequence of events; it is not part of the vital force which makes the world a living, moving splendor or apparition of the divine will. There may be as true an order in the series of fossils which fills the cases in the laboratory or museum as in the procession of the flowers through the seasons. The mystery of life lies not in the absence of the lines of order, but in the majestic curves with which those lines sweep beyond our vision into the silence and space which hold the little hour and place of speech we call life in their keeping.

Everything that grows and blooms and bears fruit by any conscious or

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unconscious process has its roots in mystery and radiates mystery as far as its relations run. The rose on a woman's bosom is a single term in a problem which science has not solved and is not likely to solve. It says much to the eye, but it says more to the imagination; for it is not only a bit of matter miraculously shaped to charm the sense; it is also a symbol of an invisible order in the universe, a single pregnant word of a sentence that cannot be spoken, because it lies within the keeping of the language of infinity and eternity. On all sides visible and tangible things, touched and used a thousand times, are edged with mystery and keep us in constant touch with poetry. Where there is matter there is spirit; where there is spirit there is poetry; and where there is poetry there is mystery.

And nowhere is mystery, the sense of the presence of that which transcends our knowledge, more mysterious than when we look into one another's faces and call one another's names. Those who have lived under the same roof, been warmed in childhood by the same fire, looked up into the same faces for light and leading, are often hopelessly baffled when they try to come face to face with one another in some great crisis. Four thousand books and more have been written about Napoleon, but who is daring enough to claim that he has dispelled the final mystery of that marvelous personality? Who knows his neighbor in such a way that motives are always so clear that action can be infallibly indicated in advance? Who knows himself? Among all the sons of men has there been one who has not come face to face, at some sudden turn in the road, with an apparition of himself stranger than the man whom he has just passed for the first time in the street? The interest of life can never be sated, because life will not be really known by the latest generation; it is but a fragment of a larger whole which does not lie within the vision of the most inspired. When Shakespeare has written his thirty-six plays, he has set in order a few striking impressions and comments; the field of knowledge sweeps out of his sight whichever way he turns. After Balzac has come to the end of his forty-seventh novel, he is at the beginning of his immense endeavor to portray a few types of a single race. We are always waiting for the novel that shall tell the whole truth about life, but we shall wait in vain; that truth does not lie "within the empire of any earthly pencil." We do not know those who walk next us in the journey of life, nor do they know us. Out of mystery we came, in mystery we live, into mystery we vanish at the end; for we are all strangers in the earth as our fathers were before us.

Love is, therefore, a long discovery. When the first rapture kindles the sky of youth, the lover thinks he understands, and does not know that one of the joys of loving has its roots in his ignorance. If he understood, the afterglow would be a long fading of the early splendor. He imagines that there will come a day when complete possession will give him his great fortune to the uttermost penny. In his inexperience how can he know that personality never can be surrendered, and that the wealth of love is inexhaustible because it can only be coined for the needs of each day? The capital of love is in its possibilities, not in its achievements; the lover is rich, not in what was given him yesterday, but in what will be given him to-morrow and in the next century. They who travel together on a long journey think more of that which lies before them than of that which lies behind; and their good fortune is to be found, not in the luggage they take with them, but in the greatness and richness of their opportunity.

In love the place of departure alone is visible; there friends gather and flowers are in the air and joyful words are spoken; but it is the goal that really counts, and the goal is always out of sight. In the seeking of the goal lies not only the exhilaration of strength put forth and vitality expressed, but of an ever-deepening sense of community of fortune, of blending of interests, of a fellowship which is slowly sinking into and gathering to itself the immortal energies and potencies of the spirit; until there comes an hour when, each personality keeping its integrity intact, the two have become

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one in the full and final unity of their aims and spirit. If it be true that we largely make our environment by the expression of our natures, then they who reach the higher stages of love, where thought and deed are one, must enter at last the heaven which was fashioned by the way when they knew it not. Those only who build together finally live together in that house of life which is a revelation of all who abide in it.

The romance of life is always at heart the romance of discovery; for the lover who persists in the face of locksmiths opens a door which had been shut against him; and seekers after truth, light, or gold are always widening the field of knowledge and experience. But the lover is the most favored of all these children of fortune, because his discoveries always add to the store of his happiness. He will always believe that he is on the verge of the ultimate disclosure, but he will always find another day of search awaiting him. Still pressing on to that complete possession which is the prophetic dream of lovers, he will never completely overtake his happiness, never finally possess his fortune. He is more fortunate than they who are rich in things, for he will spend freely day by day and yet his wealth will always await him:

I.

"Room after room,
I hunt the house through
We inhabit together.
Heart, fear nothing, for, heart, thou shalt find her—
Next time, herself!—not the trouble behind her
Left in the curtain, the couch's perfume!
As she brushed it, the cornice-wreath blossomed anew;
Yon looking-glass gleamed at the wave of her feather.

II.

"Yet the day wears,
And door succeeds door;
I try the fresh fortune—
Range the wide house from the wing to the center.
Still the same chance! she goes out as I enter.
Spend my whole day in the quest,—who cares?
But 'tis twilight, you see,—with such suites to explore,
Such closets to search, such alcoves to importune!"

The Spectator

Mrs. Wilkins-Freeman's New England villages (by no means suggesting that they do not exist), hidebound in custom and faithful to tradition, find their counterpart in any part of the world, as everybody has experienced. The difference is merely that naturally caused by nationality, changed conditions, local color, and ancestry. The human nature of it is the same. During a vacation summer before last the Spectator found himself for a few days in a Syrian village in the Lebanon, which, differing so mightily in its exterior from a village, say, in New Hampshire, as seemingly to preclude all comparison, offered an interesting parallel in its attempt to break down the customs of hundreds of years' standing. Quite naturally, it began its revolt rather drastically and went to other extremes with a suddenness that rather surprised it by the unforeseen agencies aroused. The village was, and still is, perhaps the most mediæval of all the villages in the Lebanon. It lived for itself, and looked with contempt and dislike upon all foreigners, by which it meant anybody from another village. There lives there to-day a woman who is unpopular because she came from outside, and is considered "stuck up" because she is believed to require meat with at least one meal every day. Though married to an influential man, people look at her askance. The people of the village were as bigoted Maronites as are to be found in the country, and the bigoted Maronite will carry his bigotry quite as far as, and in a smaller, narrower way than will the Moslem or the Druze his fanaticism. In the population of, say, two thousand there are only thirty or forty Greek Catholics and a mere handful of Protestants. Until five years ago the American missionaries had hardly been able to get into the town, much less establish a school there, until the people themselves, probably unwittingly, gave an opportunity. For years and years the villagers had been dominated, if not actually ruled, by the Sheikhs—heads of two or three families all closely related, whose feudal rights and privileges seemed to have existed

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forever. The villagers were tradition-ridden, church-ridden, and beset by priests.

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The Sheikhs, to whom of course the priest of the village catered and favored as representing capital, carried their claims too far, and the result was a revolution, the news of which, as it was the result of a church squabble (that sounds natural of almost any village), finally reached Rome itself and caused ecclesiastical action to be taken there. It was one tradition in the village that those Sheikhs who died should have the right of burial in the church, and that was all very well for a long time. But as the Sheikhs multiplied, naturally more of them and of the members of their families died, and naturally too, as the church was not enlarged, its burying capacity was finally reached. Old graves were used and re-used until six years ago, more or less, the place became actually unsanitary. Some of the villagers, less hampered by tradition than others, promptly protested, and soon the whole population united in a demand that the Sheikhs should bury their dead in the cemetery, as other people did. The Sheikhs declared they would do as they pleased (the priest remaining noncommittal), and proceeded to do so. Then the people appealed to the Government (the Christian Government of the Lebanon), and here they were upheld. Government told the Sheikhs not to die, or to bury themselves elsewhere than in the church. But still the Sheikhs protested, and still the people fought back, and so vigorous did the fight wax that Rome heard of it and took a hand in the fray. Said Rome in effect: "You have a church, so far as we know a good one. You are prosperous enough to support it, and you ought to have pride enough not to quarrel about it. We have not had time to judge of the facts yet, but one certainly is patent enough: If you can't have your church without squabbling over it, you sha'n't have it at all. Let it be closed." And closed it was. For more than three years its bell rang not for matins or even-song or any other office of the Church, and mass was not said in it.

So, even at the expense of losing their church, the people considered that they had won a victory. They were not left without all spiritual guidance, for nearly every hill in the Lebanon has its convent, and the people received the consolations of religion at the convent of St. John the Baptist, the Sheikhs meanwhile hiring a priest from another establishment to dole forth the same to them, in a stable or storeroom or something of the sort. Fortunately for the Sheikhs, none of them died for some years. But the warfare against their prestige was kept up. Their tyranny over the people had been exhibited in a hundred petty little ways, which had always been accepted as the natural order of things, but which the people now began to resent, flushed with the partial victory in the matter of the church. The people went to the other extreme. For instance, it had long been an unwritten law that no villager should pass on the road any member of a Sheikh family going in the same direction, no matter how slowly the latter might be walking, or in how much of a hurry the former might be. That, of course, is the general order of things in the East, where precedence is strictly adhered to; but the Sheikhs made it particularly irksome, and insisted on it at all times. Sometimes it appeared to the villagers as if they were at pains to annoy. The Sheikhs lived, and do still, at the western end of the village, while the fountain from which the water supply is obtained is at the eastern end. If, toward sunset, a member of the Sheikh's family took it into her head to stroll along the main road to the fountain, she kept back the women who were anxious to get water for the evening meal, or forced them to take long detours. If the stroller stopped for the view or for purposes of gossip, the women stopped too. Babies might cry or tumble off the roof, and the men might be swearing for supper, but the women had to wait nevertheless. The Sheikhs and their families "held up," so to speak, in this trivial way, the whole village. It was only one of a series of petty annoyances, and the reaction came strongly. From refraining from passing a member of the "ruling" family on

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their way to the fountain, the women made opportunities to do so. Even when the water-jars were full, and housework demanded attention, women would make a pretense of going to the fountain in order to pass an aristocrat without a salutation, to show more clearly that the old order had passed away. To this day does this state of affairs continue, and the evening walk to the fountain has lost its charms for "quality." Instead, it takes its constitutional in the opposite direction, along a dusty carriage-road, where the only attractions are an ill-smelling silk factory and a Greek Catholic theological seminary.

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With the closing of the church, and while Rome was still considering the case on its merits, the opportunity came for the American missionaries to obtain a small foothold in the bigoted village. Where one of them had been stoned a few years ago as he rode through, a school was established and services were held. This village had had no school for years, and the parents sent their children to it in large numbers. Some of the parents even went to the services, and the Bible, always, if possible, kept away from the people by the priests, was circulated in the village. The lady missionary who went to the village each summer became, first of all, the friend of the people, interested in their daily doings, their work and play, their gossip, and the common things of their lives. Her house became the rendezvous, in the evenings, for the leading men of the village, who discussed all sorts of topics, ranging from the fig crop to what they heard from their friends in America. Speaking of America, indeed, this village has sent five or six hundred of its young men to that somewhat vague place, and it is quite on the cards that that fact, bringing with it a wider insight into things, has had to do with the revolt against tradition. The term "America" is spoken of as a vague one because it means impartially Enyurk, Barazeel, or Mezeek, as the metropolis of the United States, Brazil, and Mexico are best known.

This activity on the part of the missionaries aroused the ecclesiastical mind. The Jesuits established a school, Rome decided the church question in favor of the villagers, and the doors of the edifice were thrown open. Its bell, so long silent, rang every day continuously from sunrise to sunset for a week, so delighted were the villagers over their second victory. Then there was a solemn gathering of a dozen or more priests, who organized a still more solemn procession, the object of which was to remove the Protestant taint from the village. They marched from the reopened church, and sprinkled with water from the Sheikhless fountain, previously made holy, the principal street, paying especial attention to the path leading to the missionary's abode as being especially foul. As a final touch in the restoration of the place to holiness, the priests gathered together all the Bibles and hymn-books which had been acquired by the children and took them to the public oven, where they were burned, and, moreover, furnished heat for the baking of the bread of the village for that day. The Jesuit school waxed in numbers and the Protestant school fell off, though still retaining many pupils. Now, it seems to the Spectator that all these things, including the "purification" of the street and the baking of bread with the aid of the Scriptures, rank as most excellent missionary results. The villagers were put in an attitude of defense of their own institutions, and that would inevitably lead them to inquire why any defense at all was needed. The advent of the missionaries with their schools had stung the people in a very sensitive spot when they realized that the education of their children depended on outsiders of a different and hated sect. They are becoming less bigoted, very slowly but surely; they are becoming educated indirectly to get their ideas for themselves; and that, in the Spectator's view, is worth infinitely more than any quantity of conversions from one Christian sect to another, it being at the same time entirely inaccurate to say that the object of the missions is merely to make proselytes.

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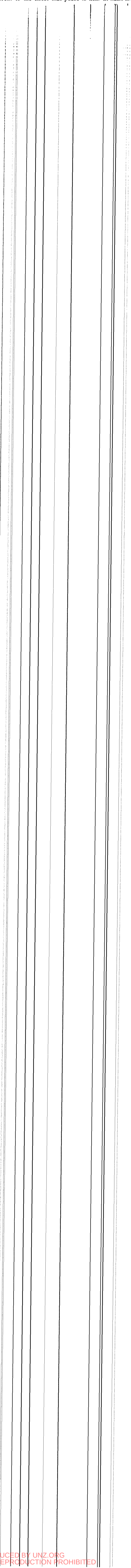
Russian Views of Kuropatkin and His Army

By George Kennan

Special Correspondent of The Outlook in the Far East

This article has particular timeliness and force because there is just now so much discussion as to the possibility of Russia continuing to offer effective resistance to Japan in Manchuria. Many of the rumors lately current to the effect that peace is near at hand are



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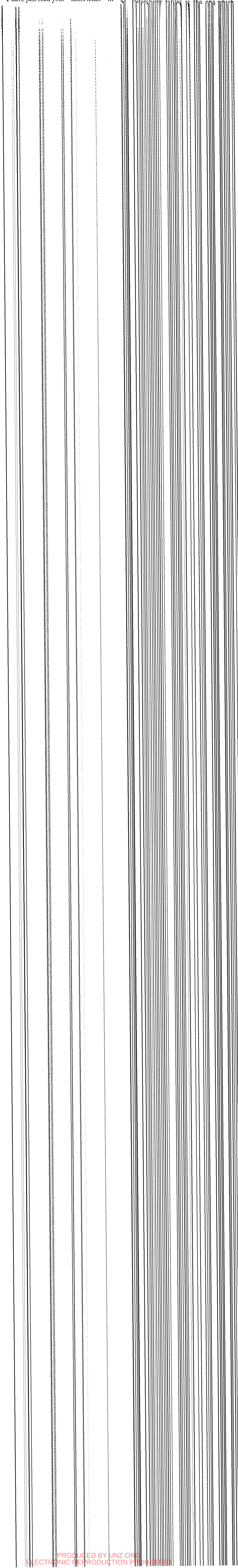
before the battle of the Shaho, he wrote the following letter to Mr. Suvorin, the editor of the St. Petersburg "Novoye Vremya:"

Express Train near Kurgan,
September 23 [October 6], 1904.

My Dear Alexei Sergeivich:

I have just read your "short letter" in



march. It was adopted in preference to the plan of Zhilinski, which proposed an advance in the direction of Fengwangcheng. Both plans were sent to St. Petersburg by telegraph, and Kuropatkin's plan was approved.

Third, the most preposterous of the St. Petersburg fables is the one which

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ganization of the army. For example, I go into the Intelligence Bureau, and the Bureau Chief says to me, "I'm up to my chin in work. Four days' cipher telegrams have not yet been deciphered." What would you think of intelligence that had been deciphered only at the end of four days?

On the 4th of August I went to Harbin. That was a time when everything was quiet, and not a shot had been fired in two weeks. To go to Harbin on one and the same train means to spend seven or eight days on the road—so well organized is our military transportation! In order to shorten the time to five days one must inquire at the stations which train is to start first, and jump from one train to the other. The distance is five hundred versts [three hundred and thirty miles].

Seventy versts before reaching Harbin I overtook one of the so-called "sanitary trains without special appliances." This train was supposed to go through without delay. The officer in command of it sent to the Bureau of Military Transportation the following instructive telegram: "For three days I have been conducting a sanitary train without special appliances, which contains 868 sick and wounded men. We have no place where we can cook food, and the sick have had nothing to eat in three days." Of course I changed to this train, which was going through "without delay." We were eighteen hours in making the remaining seventy versts, and reached Harbin at one o'clock at night, when it was impossible either to unload the sick or feed them. Do you not conclude from this that in the management of the railway there is no organization whatever?

One other detail of that train: In order to make it accommodate 868 men the latter had to be put on "nares," or platforms, in two tiers, one above the other. On that train there was not a single doctor, or attendant, or nurse.

"What am I going to do with them?" said the young conductor, in a complaining tone. "The dysentery patients lie in two tiers. The upper ones roll down on the lower, and there's nobody to put them back in their places. In two of the cars there are forty-eight typhus fever patients. At the very last station I asked for at least one attendant to look after them, because they toss about in the delirium of fever, and often try to throw themselves out of the train while it is in motion; but they refused to give me even one." It seems to me that even without being a "specialist in military affairs" you would conclude that a sanitary corps, as an organized unit in Kuropatkin's army, does not exist; and you would be perfectly right. If it were not for the relief parties of the zemstvos and the nobles, half the wounded would die on the spot. But even a zemstvo sanitary corps cannot be in two places at once. Those whom they feed are satisfied, but those that they miss may die of hunger.

Five hours before the order was issued for the evacuation of Haicheng, there arrived in that place, and were unloaded there, two trains with provisions, which had been ordered by wire after the memorable words, "No step backwards." It is necessary to take notice that the provisions already on hand in Haicheng were sufficient to feed the whole army for seven days, and yet another week's supply was ordered—that is, seven more train-loads. The railroad authorities were directed to prepare closed sheds for these provisions, and I saw, with my own eyes, five hundred Chinese working at the construction of those sheds on the very day when, without a single shot from the enemy, Haicheng was abandoned. Luckily, the other three trains were stopped, and eight hours later the two that had already been unloaded were burned. "Without criticising the military talent of Kuropatkin," to quote your own words, will you not be kind enough to draw a conclusion from the incident that I have described?

It is impossible, my dear Alexei Sergeivich, to write so much and so excitedly about things that you know only through the gossip of the capital. Your own correspondent, as he told me himself at staff headquarters, was summoned there on the 1st [14th] of September and was reprimanded for having said that under such conditions it was impossible to carry on war, and that it would be better

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to make peace. But why did he not write that to you? The disorganization of all parts of the army is so great and so glaringly evident that as long ago as July 10 [23] I wrote to St. Petersburg as follows: "If you wish for the good of Russia, insist immediately upon the removal of Kuropatkin. He is without talent as an administrator and is a coward as a military leader. With such organization as we have here you can't carry on war—in fact, you couldn't even make a good boot; it would be sure to have a crooked heel. Every day of delay is costing Russia dear, and it is my conviction that so long as Kuropatkin commands our army it will see nothing but shame. This, I repeat, is not an organized army, but a regular kabak.[1]

The president of one of our military courts recently said to me, "What can you expect from an army that is commanded by criminals?" I have in my hands the official papers of an investigation which shows that at six o'clock on the evening after the Kiuliencheng battle [the battle of the Yalu] General Zasulich was sixty versts from Kiuliencheng, driving furiously away in a troika and knocking down everybody in the road. He was in command of an army corps only because Kuropatkin selected him and then, through obstinacy, refused to remove him, as in the case of Stackelberg. "Criminals" through "obstinacy" command army corps! And this information is given us by army officers! They must be closely linked together!

Although I was not a military man, and although I based my judgment only on the demoralization of the army, I made a bet with eleven officers of the staff and line early in July, when, as yet, there were no threatening indications, that we would retreat from Haicheng, from Ai-sand-zan, from Liaoyang, from Mukden, and from Tieling; in short, from every place that the Japanese chose to drive us. I have already won so far as the first three places are concerned, and I have no doubt that I shall win on all points. If Kuropatkin retains command, I'm ready to wager that we'll be driven out of Harbin. They say in the army that Kuropatkin has taken an oath, on the sword of his grandfather, that he never will retreat "a step beyond Irkutsk;" and no wonder!

In my "Recollections" (which I am now writing) you will find hundreds of illustrations referred to here only in paragraphs, and yet this letter is a far longer one than I intended to write, because my heart aches for long-suffering Russia. I intended merely to say to you, "Don't sing a hymn of praise to one whom the enemy can't find fault with. If you do, you'll only delude those that you profess to be defending. Don't deceive them. They are deluded enough already by the Kuropatkins, the Ukhtomskys, and all the rest who 'command' at their own sweet will."

If you are really interested in what is going on in Manchuria, and not in Kuropatkin alone, write me at Torbino, where I am now going, and I will then tell you all I know. But I must say to you in advance, that when I came here I was as enthusiastic over Kuropatkin as you are, as you can see if you read my letters; but I return completely disillusioned.

If you can print even a part of this letter, you may sing as many panegyrics as you like; but while the truth may not be spoken, don't deceive Russia with a lie. N. A. Demchinski.

Although the above letter is evidently written with conviction and has the ring of sincerity, it probably does injustice to General Kuropatkin in so far as it holds him personally responsible for administrative defects that are inherent in the Russian system of government and that are the outcome of a century of bureaucratic misrule. The Russian autocracy has always shown itself weak under the strain of war, and the confusion, corruption, incapacity, and maladministration to which Mr. Demchinski calls attention now were almost as glaringly apparent in the early stages of the Crimean War, and of the war with Turkey in 1877–8. Mr. Demchinski's assertions, so far as they relate to matters of fact, apart from the question of responsibility, seem to be fully confirmed by the statements of other competent Russian observers. A

[1] Russian bar-room.

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private letter from Liaoyang, dated August 30, says:

"Our disorganization is apparent everywhere. In our hospitals the soldiers find fault with their officers, who, they say, 'hide themselves,' and the officers in turn complain of their generals and of the higher authorities. Of senseless or unexecuted orders there is no end. Detached forces sent out to reconnoiter are often left without cover or support and are shot down by the Japanese. Orders with regard to the disposition of troops do not reach the commanding officers of such troops until after the battle has ended. Alexeief, who continues to interfere with military operations, did not go to Vladivostok, as he intended, but, in consequence of news received from the south, proceeded to Liaoyang. There he had a consultation with Kuropatkin, lasting an hour and a half, at which it was decided to abandon that place and transfer the army's base northward to Hunzhuling. Now everything is being carried out of the city. The sending back of the wounded by rail is managed with shocking carelessness and haste. Many die from hemorrhage due to imperfect bandaging, as the nurses have no time to finish their work properly and there is no intercommunication between the cars. As many as eight hundred sick and wounded are put into a single train of freight-cars, where the sick lie on straw mats. In these improvised sanitary trains the sick often starve because there are no facilities for cooking, and telegrams to food stations don't get through in time. The sanitary parties of the zemstvos [provincial assemblies] feed a good many, but the military hospitals are insufficiently manned and supplied. There is not enough of anything. Hundreds of sick are brought into the hospitals without a paper of any kind, and when they die without recovering consciousness, as they often do, there is no means of identifying them."

A Russian correspondent, who seems to be a soldier, writing from Mukden under date of September 10, says: "Our regiment fought with the Japanese for three days in a position near Liaoyang, and on the fourth we retreated. This, of course, is not news to you. The things that one hears and sees here are beyond imagination. The troops that arrived before us are in a most deplorable condition—dirty, ragged, and in many cases wearing Chinese shoes. They look more like beggars than like soldiers. Nobody has underclothing or necessary things of that kind—all has been abandoned. There is an immense number of sick, and especially of patients suffering from intestinal disorders. How many have been killed and wounded it is hard to say. In our regiment the killed number only twenty-five or thirty. The sanitary trains, however, are hardly able to carry away the wounded, and the nearer hospitals are filled with them. Most melancholy of all is our self-destruction. Almost every night there are attacks and skirmishes among detachments of our own troops. I have met non-commissioned officers from various parts of the army who confirm this, and our own regiment, by mistake, fought in the darkness with the Chembarski regiment, and there were many casualties."

The sanitary and medical departments of the Russian army, which are so severely criticised by Mr. Demchinski, are also condemned by observers in various parts of the Empire from St. Petersburg to Mukden. A private St. Petersburg letter, for example, says: "A few days ago an officer of the Red Cross, who was under orders to start for the Far East, gave me the substance of a talk that he had just had with the director of that organization at its headquarters in this city. After giving him his instructions and the money for his trip, the director said, 'The most important thing is to look as carefully as possible after the nurses and attendants in your division.' Upon being asked in what way the latter were to be looked after, the director replied, 'In the most ordinary way; see that they don't rob the wounded. One of them was caught at it only a little while ago. He systematically plundered the sick and wounded, and sent the money to his wife in Russia. When he was detected, he had stolen 2,400 rubles. Kuropatkin sent him to a court martial, and he will probably be

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shot; but others will do the same thing more cautiously, so you'll have to look after them. On an average it appears that every one of our sanitary attendants has against him a record of at least ten legal judgments.' The confession was certainly a most frank one, but how is one to explain such astonishing carelessness in the selection of Red Cross subordinates? One reason, of course, is the indifference and negligence of the higher authorities, and another is the complete lack of systematic control in the organization itself. The management here seems to aim only at getting the greatest possible number of attendants and nurses at the lowest possible cost. How they will do their work is a matter of God's mercy—in any event, no account of it will ever have to be rendered."

A Russian nurse, writing from a Red Cross station on the eastern coast of Lake Baikal, says:

"In order to relieve my mind I must write you something about the condition of affairs in our Red Cross. At the beginning of the war the Central Red Cross Administration in St. Petersburg made plans for a chain of Red Cross hospitals, several hundred in number, to extend throughout Siberia and Manchuria. They expected, at that time, that contributions would flow into their treasury like a river, but they were disappointed. Money came in slowly even from the first, and it is now coming still more slowly. All the high officials and commissioned agents of the organization receive preposterous salaries, and there is not enough left to pay their subordinates and to furnish and maintain the lazarets. Instead of closing superfluous hospitals and properly equipping the rest, the Red Cross, in order to 'save its face,' has opened them all, and the state of affairs in them is something unimaginable. Take, for example, our hospital here in N——. For the sum of five hundred rubles a year the Red Cross rented, from a certain merchant whom I shall call Mr. H——, two barracks on the shore of Lake Baikal, in which Mr. H—— had formerly housed his laborers, and also a number of stables which had been occupied by cattle. These buildings were painted and whitewashed; a Red Cross flag was hung up over them, and the hospital was ready. There is no water-closet and only one bath; the walls and the roofs—especially the latter—leak so badly that they cannot be mended, and everything is in decay. The walls, of course, are made of rough pine or cedar planks, without lining or plaster, and there are no windows. When the doors are open there is a strong draught, and if the doors are closed the stench becomes unendurable.

"Besides these two barracks, the Red Cross has borrowed from the Emigration Department two others which were formerly used by emigrants, and which are now empty. These, without any repairs at all, have been added to the hospital, and the group of buildings as a whole is intended to serve particularly as a place of detention and treatment for soldiers suffering from infectious and contagious diseases. All such patients from the scene of military operations and from the Chinese Eastern Railway are stopped here so that they shall not carry infection into Russia. In view of the existing state of affairs, I do not exaggerate when I predict that the object aimed at will be completely attained. Infection will not be carried into Russia because all the sick brought here will die.

"The sick, among whom are many scorbutic patients, are furnished with bread made from bad flour, and we have no cabbage, potatoes, or fresh vegetables of any kind. I go to the bazar and buy, with my own money, lemons, onions, curds, etc., which I give to the sick, a little at a time. Our sanitary attendants, who are recruited from the lowest class of the population, are constantly getting drunk, and when they create a scandal and are discharged their places are filled by new men of the same kind picked up along the lake shore."

The last letter for which I have space bears no date, but seems to have been written from some place in northern or central Manchuria—possibly Harbin. It is, in part, as follows: "You, who are far away from the scene of war, probably have a clearer view of it than we who are on the very threshold of

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the military arena. All that we know of it we get from disconnected fragments of news, and rumors, rumors, rumors! For this reason I shall be compelled to write you, not of facts, but of the prevalent spirit and feeling in this locality. That I can describe, with full assurance, as extremely pessimistic in all respects. The general impression is that at this time next year the same accursed war will be in progress. And how is it progressing? General public opinion says as badly as possible. Whether public opinion is right or wrong I will not undertake to say, but such is its verdict. Our soldiers are heroes, but those who stand above them are far from being up to the level of their duty. The feeling in the army, so far as one can judge from the stories of the sick and wounded, is critical in the extreme.

"I have had an opportunity to become acquainted with the common Russian soldier, and I find him to be an extremely sympathetic personality, and not at all the unthinking machine that I had pictured to myself in imagination. His feeling of comradeship and of loyalty to his comrades is surprisingly developed.

"Many of the wounded here long to get back to the fighting-line, because, as they say, 'We can't leave our comrades in the lurch,' or 'Our comrades are dying—how can we stay here?' Their opinion of their officers, however, is not high, as you would discover if you could hear the contemptuous way in which they speak of them in comparison with the officers of the Japanese. I myself heard one soldier say, 'If they would only give us Japanese leaders, we could conquer the world; but as it is, we throw away our lives in vain' [literally "lay down our heads for nothing"].

"It is terribly trying not to know what is going on in Russia. Newspapers reach us only after long delay, but they are read with intense interest. What is going to happen? If the war would only end! and if the sacrifice of so many lives would only be of some use!

"Everybody here waits with nervous anxiety for the end of the war and its results. We, who are so near, see and hear almost every day evidences of meanness, dishonesty, and stupidity; and the universal conviction is that everything—absolutely everything—will have to be reformed and made over."

Such are the views of Russian observers with regard to their own military administration in general and Kuropatkin and his army in particular. The writers of the letters may be biased, to some extent, by disapprobation of the war, and by a feeling of hostility towards the bureaucracy which brought the war on; but there seems to be no reason to question their statements of fact, and the picture of disorder, confusion, and incapacity shown by the facts alone is enough to raise more than a doubt as to the ability of Russia ever to make any effective stand in Manchuria against an enemy whose methods are orderly, systematic, and carefully thought out; whose movements are always intelligently prearranged; and whose soldiers are educated, patriotic, well trained, and invincibly brave. Kuropatkin may be as skillful a general as the editor of the "Novoye Vremya" believes him to be; but the governmental system of which his transportation department, his sanitary corps, his officers, and his soldiers are the product, cannot win in a struggle with a system based on popular education, popular representation, individual freedom, enlightened patriotism, order, system, and efficiency.

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Should the Tariff be Revised: The Opposing Arguments

I.—Revision Not Desirable

By William F. Draper

President of the Draper Company and former President of the Home Market Club, ex-Congressman from Massachusetts, and ex-Ambassador to Italy

HAS the time come when an immediate revision of the tariff is necessary or even desirable? I am asked to write an article taking the negative side of this question, and I do it with willingness, because in doing so I shall express my well-considered opinions.

That my standpoint may be clear, and that any influence that my business has on my views may be properly discounted, I will explain that I am, and have been for forty years, a manufacturer of textile machinery—machinery for spinning and weaving cotton and other fabrics. This industry is protected by a duty of 45 per cent. ad valorem, and in spite of that duty a considerable portion of the machinery used in this country is imported. The company of which I am President—the Draper Company—is a member of no combination, though it holds patents on some of the machines which it manufactures, and these machines are sufficiently valuable in use to secure us, for the time being, a considerable share of the American market in this line. I shall not mention my personal affairs further, except to state later the effect of the Wilson Bill upon them, but will discuss the question from a general standpoint.

In commencing, it is perhaps well to state that I am a protectionist, and that my arguments will be based on the belief that our home market is more valuable to us than any foreign market can be; that it is desirable to keep up our present standard of wages as far as possible; and that it is also desirable to maintain, and even increase, our present diversification of industry.

Were I a free-trader, I would say, "Revise the tariff at once, and wherever possible, and as much as possible." If industries were to be destroyed, or labor paid one-half what it receives now, I should regret it, but should regard it as only an unfortunate incident of a desirable change. If any industry should find itself unable to stand the world's competition, it would, from that standpoint, show that it did not belong here and ought not to be here; and if it could compete and remain only by paying lower wages, that would be one of the unfortunate necessities of the case.

If I believed in a tariff for revenue only, I should take the same view as above stated, modified by the desirability or necessity of obtaining some of the public revenue from duties on imports, and I should favor the earliest possible revision of the tariff, so as to produce the highest revenue, regardless of protection.

Free-traders and believers in a merely revenue tariff do not, however, control the Government at the present time, although they are responsible for much—probably for most—of the clamor for revision. If they get control of the Government, they will revise beyond a doubt, and they would be justified in so doing if they are sincere. The question now, however, is to be decided by those of another school of thought, the Republican party, which has recognized protection as its cardinal principle, being in power.

There has been a lame attempt lately on the part of some of the so-called "Independent" journals to make it appear that the Republican party is not committed to protection, but is at liberty to act on free-trade lines. To meet this I have only to quote briefly from two or three of their National platforms, and, if

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there were room, similar statements might be quoted from many others, to say nothing of their campaign literature and the arguments of their speakers. The platform of 1860, on which they gained their first victory, declared for protection as follows:

> That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties from imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these duties as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the country; and we commend the policy of the National exchange which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence.

In 1896, when the Wilson Law was in operation, the platform contained the following statement: "We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and prosperity." The existing Democratic tariff was denounced, and in conclusion the declaration was made: "The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest."

In pursuance of these declarations the Dingley tariff was enacted in 1897, and the party has "stood pat" on it ever since. That tariff has been the subject of free-trade and Democratic attack in two Presidential and four Congressional elections, and the result has been a period of wonderful National prosperity, and also an unbroken period of Republican success, culminating in the election in November last.

In that election the protection plank was substantially as follows:

> Protection, which guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. We insist upon its maintenance, and rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, but this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity; a Republican tariff by business prosperity. When the only free-trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection, the chief protective country should not falter in maintaining it.

This plank asserts that rates of duty should be adjusted *only* when conditions have so *changed* that the public interest demands their alteration; and, even then, that the work must be committed to the friends of protection. It goes without saying that free-trade arguments will not and should not appeal to a Republican Senate and House. The fact that cheaper foreign products might replace dearer American commodities in some lines if the tariff were removed or reduced would have no weight with protectionists, if that cheapness were to be obtained by throwing our own people out of employment or reducing their wages. Revision must be justified by arguments that are consistent with protection, or it should not, and will not, be undertaken.

Now, from the protectionist's standpoint (which the recent election demonstrates is the standpoint of the great majority of the American people), are there any changed conditions that require a *general* tariff revision? It should be borne in mind that any revision of the tariff *downward*, which is what the advocates of revision demand, will and must cause a depression—a cessation or diminution of production in most lines directly affected by the tariff, until it is known what the new rates are to be. The changing of rates will affect prices, or there will be no sense in making changes; and no one but an idiot would keep on producing unsold goods when the prices of similar goods are to be lowered by Act of Congress, no one knows when or to what extent. This will throw people out of employment, and again reduce the demand for all goods by the diminution of their consumption, and further and further stoppage will become necessary. The responsibility of lowering the tariff generally, or even of undertaking such a general change, is thus a grave one—particularly for the friends of protection, who cannot consistently tear down what they have built up, without undoubted evidence that more harm is being done by the continuation of present rates than would follow reopening the question.

Going farther, in many, if not most, lines of manufacture, a reduction of duties will mean *permanently* either increased importation, with correspond-

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ingly diminished American production, or a reduction of wages, which will naturally spread into other lines, to enable our home market to be held.

The following figures are taken from reports of the Government Bureau of Statistics for the year ending June, 1904, and show imports of articles of which large amounts now come from abroad, in spite of duties. The list might be made much more complete had I room, but I quote only the larger importations of dutiable goods, to illustrate my point:

Manufactures of bronze	$754,302
Brushes	1,372,227
Buttons and button forms	892,612
Cement	1,993,303
Chemicals, drugs, and dyes	24,407,444
Clocks and watches	2,990,474
Bituminous coal	5,043,824
Manufactures of cotton	49,524,426
Earthen, stone, and china ware	12,005,008
Manufactures of flax, jute, etc.	39,221,694
Fish	8,610,653
Fruits and nuts	14,720,100
Glass and glassware	6,367,585
Manufactures of india-rubber, etc.	1,157,042
Iron and steel and manufactures of	26,400,022
Jewelry (not including precious stones)	2,048,697
Leather	4,909,231
Manufactures of leather	6,190,984
Marble and stone, and manufactures of	1,672,374
Matting and mats	3,609,795
Metals, and manufactures of	6,334,226
Musical instruments	1,366,378
Paints, pigments, and colors	1,674,019
Paper, and manufactures of	5,319,086
Manufactures of silk	31,973,680
Sugar	71,919,753
Tobacco	16,939,487
Manufactures of tobacco	3,133,859
Manufactures of wood	6,493,460
Wool	24,813,591
Manufactures of wool	17,733,788

Most of these articles we ought to produce ourselves, and it is evident that a reduction of duties, by making foreign competing goods in these lines cheaper, would either close American factories or force cheaper production therein. The pressure of competition now has driven our manufacturers to the greatest economy in production, consistent with the wages paid, and an enforced cheaper production would therefore entail a reduction of wages. This again would diminish our home market and lower our civilization by bringing our mechanics and laborers nearer to the material condition of those in similar vocations abroad.

As a matter of fact, our tariff, more than any other factor, is responsible for the maintenance of our high wage scale here, and the lowering of this scale permanently would be a National calamity, degrading our labor, diminishing our home market, and striking at the very foundation of our Republic. I know that tariff reformers jeer at this, and assert that the greater wages of the mechanic here are more than offset by the greater cost of commodities. My space is too short to quote from Government reports and other familiar data on this point, but I will make a brief quotation from John Mitchell, in his "American and European Labor Conditions Compared." He says in Letter No. 12:

> Generally speaking, the material situation of the American workingman is far superior to that of his European brethren. Although wages, hours of labor, and general conditions of work are far from satisfactory in the United States, the situation of the American workingman in these respects is better than that of the European workingman. Wages, measured both in money and in what money will buy, are higher in the United States than in England, and are much higher in the United States than in Germany, France, or Belgium. The working day appears to be slightly longer in the United States than in England, and somewhat shorter in the United States than in Germany, France, or Belgium.

We had a sample of what tariff revision would accomplish in the passage of the Wilson Law in 1894, after six months or more of discussion and uncertainty. It is not necessary to go into detail for the benefit of those then of mature age. All such remember the closed factories, the immense destruction of values, the hundreds of thousands or millions of men desiring work who could not find it. And yet the Wilson Law was only a moderate reduction from the McKinley tariff—not as bad, perhaps, as might be expected if the work were undertaken again.

It is certain that if a reduction, made by the friends of the tariff, were any less radical, the cry would immediately go up from the independent papers and tariff reformers for a real revision—not a make-believe. Nothing would be settled, and a partial success would only stimulate the outcry for more.

Referring, however, to the Wilson reduction or revision (the terms are synonymous), I will state its effect on one business—my own. We were employing twelve hundred men at our works in Hopedale in 1892, when it became certain that a revision would be made—all on full time, and at the then usual

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standard of wages. In 1894, after the passage of the Wilson Bill, this number was reduced to a little more than three hundred, working three-quarters time, and at wages twenty per cent. less for the time employed. It would have been easy to reduce wages still further, as we were besieged by competent men willing to work for any price we would or could give them. The amount of reduction of duty on our product was only from forty-five to thirty-five per cent., and a less reduction than this could hardly be expected if our duties were to be revised at all. I certainly do not care for a repetition of this experience, and do not think the country does. It may be fair to say that after business became adjusted to the lower tariff our force went up again to seven hundred men, still at the lower wages, before the passage of the Dingley Law, after which we increased to a larger force and higher wages than ever before. I anticipate another similar experience, not only for my industry, but all along the line, if we again put the same causes into operation.

Now, assuming, as I said before, that the Dingley tariff, under which the country has prospered since 1897, was desirable at that time, I ask again, what changes in conditions have taken place that require a general lowering of duties—what changes that will justify the commercial disturbance that is sure to follow even the attempt to make such a revision? The country was prosperous then; it is prosperous now. Our wage scale was then higher than those of other countries that compete in our home market; it is higher now.

The only arguments that seem to be pressed are the desirability of increasing our foreign trade in certain lines; and the fact that industrial combinations have increased in number and capital. I can discuss these points only briefly.

As to the increase of foreign trade, it has increased by leaps and bounds under the present tariff, without injuring any of our producers. To increase it further by reduction of the tariff would mean that industries that do not now possess the home market would be placed at still greater disadvantage for the benefit of those that possess the home field and desire a larger foreign outlet. I wish these fortunate ones all success in obtaining it, if they can do so under fair conditions; but it is not fair to destroy other industries for that purpose. Our home market is immensely more valuable than any increased foreign market would be that can be secured even under absolute free trade. Further, if the injury to industries that need protection could be compensated for by the increased foreign trade in the few lines of manufacture where we can compete on a level (which is most improbable), the readjustment of business would be costly to the country and ruinous to many, while the final result would be a lessened diversification of our industries.

As to the combinations and so-called trusts, none of them whose products have tariff protection controls the American market, and none is likely to do so. I am not a "trust-buster," but I believe that neither corporations nor individuals should be permitted to work injury rather than good to the body politic. Whether more legislation is needed to control these great aggregations, or whether all now on the statute-book is wise or not, is not the question under discussion. I do claim, however, that tariff reduction on the articles produced by the trusts will injure their competitors, and the workmen employed by them, vastly more than it will injure the corporations themselves.

So much for a *general* tariff reduction.

It would cause commercial depression while being made.

It would lessen our general prosperity after it was made.

It would lower the wages of labor.

It would not aid in solving the trust problem.

It is not called for by any one outside of free-traders, who wish not only to revise but to destroy our tariff.

The clamor, such as there is, is really not for a *general* revision, but for a reduction in certain schedules; and might be easier to consider and act upon if there was agreement on the schedules to be reduced. I have discussed this question with business men from all sections of the country, and have been unable to

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find any strong sentiment for general revision, though it is not difficult to find men who favor reductions that would seem of advantage to them individually if no other changes were made. A few New Englanders (like Governor Douglas) ask for free hides and free coal, or, like Mr. Foss, for free iron and free agricultural products. The Westerner might favor lower duties on manufactured goods, if there were no reduction on goods that compete with his section. The Southerners would be satisfied with a general reduction, outside of those engaged in some industry that needs protection, and there they "stand pat." Short-sighted manufacturers may clamor for free raw material in their special lines, but the producers of so-called raw material feel that if duties that affect them are to be lowered, those that protect others must be lowered also.

Almost any man who does not think the subject clear through would be glad of lower duties on what he buys; but few are ready to consent to lowering the tariff on what they sell.

Senators and Representatives in Congress are governed, or greatly influenced, by the views of their constituents in such matters. When a new tariff is made, there is a clash of interests, and whatever is adopted is a compromise—and will be, as long as human nature is human nature. Many who admit the difficulty and danger of a general reduction, and who, in fact, would oppose one, say, Why not make changes in certain lines where there is a consensus of opinion that duties are too high, and leave the rest of the tariff untouched? The difficulty is that there is no consensus of opinion that will justify such a course. Any proposition for change will be open to amendment, and the opening of the door will be like the opening of Pandora's box.

A general revision will be precipitated by an attempt at special revision; and while no one can foresee what kind of a tariff will be the result, we can all be sure of the business depression that will follow the attempt to make it.

The present tariff has served and is serving its purpose well. Business is adjusted to it. There is no agreement on what changes are necessary to make it better; and a general reduction, which would be likely to follow an attempted revision, would make it worse, from the standpoint of protection.

If the free-traders obtain a majority in the country later, let them take the responsibility of revision. Protectionists cannot do so until they are convinced that a general revision will do more good than harm—and that is far from being the case at the present time.

II.—Readjustment Necessary

By William D. Washburn

Ex-President of the Minneapolis and St. Louis and of the Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Companies, Director in the Pillsbury-Washburn Milling Company, ex-United States Representative, and ex-United States Senator.

NO public question is at this time more generally considered or more earnestly discussed than that of the proposed revision or readjustment of the present tariff schedules, unless, perhaps, the question raised in the President's Message looking to the amendment of the Inter-State Commerce Law.

For a long time tariff revision sentiment has been gaining strength and intensity throughout the entire country. It has been probably stronger in the Mississippi Valley than elsewhere, but it has been very general everywhere. This sentiment would have had more aggressive expression by Republicans in the last campaign had it not been for their fear that such expression might lead to radical division in their party, and so jeopardize the election of President Roosevelt. Many felt, in common with myself, that the agitation of this subject could be postponed until after the election. That election, however, by phenomenal and unprecedented majorities, indicated the faith of the people both in the wisdom of a Republican

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administration and in admiration for its great leader. The election removed the last reason or pretext for further postponement of the treatment of a question vital to the interests of the whole country.

It goes without saying that any revision of the tariff should be made by its friends, namely, by the Republican party, now in full control of the Government. Such a revision should be made on the fundamental principles of protection to American industries, and especially to American labor. While the doctrine of protection has already vindicated its soundness and wisdom, the tariff should not be regarded as a fetish. It is true that, under the tariff's operation, we have developed great industries. They now stand in no further need of such protection. I have been a protectionist all my life; but during these long years it has been claimed by the friends of protection that it would be less and less necessary. We have all been saying that the time would come when comparatively little protection would be required in order to maintain our industries on a proper basis. To a great extent that time is now at hand.

In any state of the case the matter of formulating a tariff is largely a business proposition. Apart from the raising of revenue, the tariff is supposed to be created with the view of advancing and developing all the great interests of the country. It surely is not wise to insist on unnecessary protection for a few small industries at the expense of those widely extended and important. It is not a broad policy to "save at the spile and lose at the bung." A few industries might possibly suffer from any substantial change, but these are comparatively unimportant.

As a matter of fact, nearly all of our great industries have, to a large extent, outgrown any necessity for protection such as was required in the early stages of their development. The present duties on many articles are excessive, and required neither for the protection of American industries nor for protection to American labor.

Since the passage of the so-called Dingley Bill in 1897, conditions have very materially changed. They make a general revision not only necessary but inevitable. There seems to be no good reason, therefore, why Congress should not go forward promptly and adjust the tariff with reference to the conditions of to-day instead of adhering to a basis of conditions that existed five or ten years ago. All must realize that the world of economic progress has been moving rapidly in the last decade. In that time conditions of commerce and manufacture have been greatly altered. Why should not these tariff changes be made *now*, fairly and courageously? Where duties are found to operate unjustly, why should we not modify them and correct them *now* in a businesslike and sensible way?

When so many articles of American manufacture are sold in London cheaper than English goods of the same character, it is quite apparent that the American articles need no home protection. But the result of our present exorbitant tariff on these articles is seen in their sale at cost, or less than cost, abroad, *to prevent home as well as foreign competition* and to maintain high prices in the United States. Competition (and consequent fair prices) was one of the original objects of the tariff. It is a paradox of economics, therefore, that competition should lower prices of our own articles in England and increase them in the United States.

The reason why the tariff was originally imposed was because we wished to establish industries in America as against cheaper capital and cheaper labor abroad. That reason, however, disappears since, as I have shown, our home industries are now enabled to stand alone and maintain the price of labor without protection. Hence it seems to me that our statesmen should recognize these changed conditions and act accordingly. The cry of "let well enough alone" is no longer sound, and, looking into the long future, will be less and less sound. The fact is that our excessive duties have led to great monopolies.

Let us, for instance, take steel rails. They can be manufactured at a cost, including a fair manufacturer's profit, of about $16 a ton. Yet the steel manufacturers, having virtual control of the

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markets, are selling the same steel rails at $28 a ton, making a profit without reason and reaching absolute extortion, a profit which enables the corporations to pay dividends on a capitalization of three or four times its real value, the capitalization being at least three parts water to one of money. We can manufacture steel rails cheaper in this country than anywhere on the globe, and so cheap as to enable our manufacturers to export to all parts of the world, and yet there is, as I remember, a duty of $7.80 a ton on imported rails!

Sales abroad for lower prices than at home are generally accompanied by the fact that a virtual monopoly in the product exists at home. For example, I am informed by Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessy, the very able President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, that his company has been purchasing steel rails from this country, delivered at St. John, New Brunswick, at $21 a ton. At the same period the Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company (a connecting line with the Canadian Pacific Railway at Sault Ste. Marie in the east and at Portal, Manitoba, in the west, a distance of some twelve hundred miles) paid $28 a ton for the same kind of rails at the mills, and about $30 a ton delivered at their lake port at Gladstone, Michigan. This is an example of the use of foreign markets to avoid a surplus, thereby benefiting our competitors at the expense of our own people.

Assuming that railway rates are made on the basis of the cost and value of a railway, it is readily seen that an enormous extra charge is made on the commerce of the country by compelling the railways to pay two prices for the rails of which they are built. While the railways primarily pay these extortionate prices for steel rails, in the final analysis they are paid by the public. Such a condition of things is not one to make any American proud. When it comes to this, that railways can be built more cheaply in Canada than in the United States, both using American rails, the whole situation is certainly not encouraging; in fact, it should not be tolerated for a moment.

Yet there are many instances of similar character. It seems to me, therefore, that we should have an immediate revision of the tariff to correct these grave injustices. Under a just and businesslike revision the interest of no legitimate industry will be impaired. It will affect materially only that class of people who expect unfair advantages.

Revision and reciprocity should go hand in hand. It has always seemed to me that James G. Blaine was wiser than his generation when, with remarkable foresight, he first urged the principles of reciprocity treaties. We know what occurred under the operations of the resultant and so-called Blaine treaties, made by Mr. Blaine as Secretary of State in President Harrison's administration. Hence we can have no doubt as to what the adoption and prosecution of such a policy would now bring to this country. The Blaine treaties were in operation but a comparatively short period, a little less than two years, yet their effects were almost marvelous. Had the treaties not been repealed by a party which seems always to do the wrong thing at the wrong time, no one can estimate what would have taken place had they been maintained to the present time.

Take, for instance, our reciprocity treaty with Spain, affecting our relations with Cuba, and continuing from 1891 to 1893. In 1891 our exports to Cuba amounted to a little over eleven millions of dollars; in 1893 they had increased to over twenty-four millions. Perhaps the greatest increase of any one item was that of flour, which jumped from 114,000 barrels in 1891 to 693,000 barrels in 1893. Agricultural implements increased from $55,000 in 1891 to $123,000 in 1893; machinery from $1,317,000 to $2,792,000; lard from about two million dollars to over four millions, and so on through the long list of our exports to Cuba. These increases indicate what may be anticipated in making reciprocity treaties in the future.

Turning from Cuba to Canada, our near neighbor on the north, we find even closer and more intimate relations. The interests of the United States and Canada are so naturally and necessarily intertwined and interdependent that it is short-sighted, to say the least, to build

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up barriers to the injury of both. The thought of many of our early public men, that we could easily thrust upon Canada somewhat one-sided, if not indeed retaliatory, terms, with the view of forcing relations, has been dispelled. If there are ever to be closer and more friendly relations between the two countries, it will be by methods absolutely the reverse. No sane man can longer doubt, it seems to me, that the interests of both Canada and the United States would be benefited by the adoption of a policy of general reciprocity, if not, indeed, of absolute free trade.

But we have to deal with the situation as we find it to-day, and not as it might have been or as we would wish it. Conditions have changed. Canada no longer asks for reciprocity. Hence it devolves upon us to show to her that freer trade between the two countries will be mutually beneficial. For instance, I find upon an examination of statistics for 1903 that there was in that year a trade between the United States and Canada of something like fifty-five million dollars in certain important items. During that period the amount of our exports of these articles exceeded twenty-five million dollars, while our imports exceeded thirty million dollars.

Articles.	Exports.	Imports.
Horses	$2,121,000	$295,000
Sheep	174,000	986,000
Breadstuffs (exclusive of corn)	5,332,000	843,000
Coal (Bituminous)	9,668,000	4,811,000
Eggs	78,000	18,000
Fish	743,000	2,859,000
Fruits	1,008,000	133,000
Hay	108,000	2,236,000
Hides	521,000	1,186,000
Iron Ore	264,000	320,000
Dairy Products	192,000	24,000
Vegetables	651,000	493,000
Wood (Manufactured)	4,766,000	13,830,000
Wood Pulp	38,000	1,867,000
Gypsum		319,000
Totals	$25,864,000	$30,220,000

Notwithstanding the large duty paid by each, this interchange of business was evidently profitable to both countries.

Now, as a beginning of reciprocal relations, what could be wiser than to place all the above-named articles on the free list, and thereby, in all probability, double or treble this interchange of trade? If not interfered with by harassing duties, a natural trade like this ought inevitably to become greatly augmented. Later it is likely that we can take up other articles and make mutual concessions, working to the advantage of both sides, largely exchanging our manufactured goods for Canadian raw material.

The duty of two dollars a thousand feet is imposed on Canadian lumber. Why should there be any duty whatever on lumber? Our own forests are being slaughtered and denuded with a startling rapidity, which causes just alarm for the future. Why not allow Canadian lumber to come in without duty and thus save our own product and forest crop for the future and for our posterity?

As to wheat, I have always regarded the duty of twenty-five cents a bushel as absurd. When it was imposed, it was regarded as a sop from the ultra-protectionists and manufacturers to the wheat-growers of the West. We can produce wheat in Minnesota and in the two Dakotas as cheaply as it can be produced in Canada, and we are nearer the markets of the world. At present, however, owing to the large requirements of the Minneapolis mills and the short crop in the United States, wheat commands a higher relative price in Minneapolis than anywhere in the world, giving a present advantage to the wheat-growers of Minnesota and the Dakotas. But such conditions are probably only temporary. The price of both Canadian wheat and wheat raised in this country is, in ordinary years, made in Liverpool. It makes little difference whether the wheat is shipped over Canadian railways and directly by boat from Montreal to Liverpool or shipped in the form of flour from Boston or New York.

Were there no duty on wheat, it is likely that a large portion of Canadian wheat would be milled in transit, thus enabling American railways to secure the profit of transportation while the American people would receive the advantages derived from the manufacture. No one, in my judgment, would be injured, and the flour manufacturers in Minnesota would be able to compete on better terms with the flour manufacturers of London and the Continent.

Thus the sentiment of reciprocity in the nations of the world, but especially

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with those of this hemisphere, has been steadily and gratifyingly growing for many years. This sentiment was voiced by President McKinley in his almost inspired speech made at Buffalo just before his assassination. William McKinley was certainly an unflinching friend of protection to American industries, yet he saw with clear vision that, with altered conditions, changes should be made looking to the practicability of reciprocity treaties. In order to secure the adoption of the policy of reciprocity, so strongly presented by President McKinley and so earnestly advocated by President Roosevelt, it becomes necessary that changes in tariff duty should now be had, if for no other reason than that it is necessary to increase our markets in order to keep pace with the large increase in our production, both of agriculture and manufactures.

Yet there can be no trade without an exchange of product; we cannot always sell and never buy. We cannot increase our foreign markets unless we take foreign articles in exchange. It is true that for several years we have drained the gold of Europe in exchange for our natural products, but this cannot proceed forever. Unless we secure reduction of the tariff, or establish reciprocal relations, our foreign customers will be compelled, in self-defense, to go elsewhere.

Despite this, many, no doubt, really feel that anything like what they call "tinkering with the tariff" will have an injurious effect on the business of the country. With such I do not agree. I do not for a moment believe that any readjustment of tariff duties, made in the right spirit and on sound business principles, will at all disturb the prosperous condition of things which now exists in the country. On the contrary, it will add stability and permanence. It is true that heretofore reductions of the tariff have usually caused a general disturbance of business, but such reductions, we must remember, have been made by the enemies of our tariff system and not by its friends. It is well, therefore, to bear in mind, and indeed to anticipate, that, unless a readjustment such as I have outlined shall be made by the Republican party while it is in full control of the Government, the time will soon come when a revision will be made on an entirely different basis and by the enemies of protection. This will lead, no doubt, to disturbance, if not disaster.

The Congo Question

By E. D. Morel

In The Outlook for the 8th of October, 1904, Dr. Booker T. Washington presented in his forcible article "Cruelty in the Congo Country" the indictment brought by disinterested people of King Leopold's methods in the land which bears the name, shot through with a cruel irony, "The Congo Free State." Charges brought by such men as Earl Beauchamp, the Earl of Aberdeen, Mr. John Morley, Mr. John Burns, Sir Gilbert Parker, Sir Charles Dilke, are not to be dismissed as either thoughtless or malicious. These men, and others of like standing, are supporters of the Congo Reform Association. Of this Association Mr. Morel, the writer of this article, is Honorary Secretary; he is also member of the African Society, and editor of the "West African Mail," published in Liverpool. The defense which has been made against the indictment of misrule in the Congo brought by these Englishmen assumes the form of counter-charges: first, that England is seeking to attack and hold up to contumely a friendly nation—Belgium; second, that England covets the Congo, politically, for herself; third, that England is jealous of Antwerp's "supremacy" as a market for the sale of india-rubber. It is with these counter-charges that Mr. Morel deals in this article.—THE EDITORS.

BY the Constitution of Belgium, King Leopold has the prerogatives of a Constitutional ruler. His power is strictly defined by the Constitution. Without running the risk of revolution he cannot overstep those limits. King Leopold, by the Constitution of the Congo, which he himself has framed, is a despot absolute and entire. For its internal affairs he is answerable,

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internally, to no one. He has no Ministers or Cabinet, even of white men—still less of black men! He appoints the executive in Africa and the judiciary. He appoints his own Secretaries in Brussels. He carries out his policy, in Brussels, through his Secretaries. In Brussels the real seat of government in the Congo exists. In the Congo the Governor-General is the King's "personal mandatory." The judges composing the judicial establishment of the Congo are nominated by the King and removable at his will and pleasure. There is a "Superior Council" in Brussels, composed of members all of whom are nominated by the King, which seldom meets, and has no power outside the King's will. Inquirers are referred to the works of Cattier, Wauters, Speyer, and Lycops for a confirmation of these statements. It will thus be seen that the Constitution of Belgium and of the "Congo Free State" are divergent in every particular.

Now, what is the attitude of the Belgian Government itself in this matter? That Government has, upon several occasions lately, been implored in the Belgian House to itself institute a searching inquiry into the subject of Congo administration. Those who have put forward this demand have based it, not upon a legal link which they admit to be non-existent, but to the circumstances—(1) that in 1885 the Chambers assented to the constitutional monarch of Belgium becoming also the Sovereign absolute of the Congo; (2) that Belgium has lent over thirty million francs to the Congo State; (3) that Belgian officers, non-commissioned officers, and civilians have been recruited by the Congo Government; (4) that there are certain vested Belgian interests in the country, which may at any moment, as they were in 1892, be again threatened by the "arbitrariness" of the Congo Government's actions.

When appealed to in this manner, the reply of the Belgian Government has been invariably the same. Here is one of these declarations—that of M. de Favereau, Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1900:

"This State is, to us, a foreign State, in whose administration the Belgian Government has no right to interfere, any more than it can be made responsible for what that foreign State may decide."

I do not think that any further exposition is needed to show that Belgium and the Congo State are entirely different, and that in condemning King Leopold's personal rule in Africa we are no more condemning the attitude of Belgium, as a State, than we are condemning Italy as a State. I may add that the distinction has been insisted upon times without number by those who have spoken or written on the subject. Finally, it should be borne in mind—the circumstance is too often forgotten—that no criticism ever formulated in any country against the abominations of King Leopold's rule in Africa has exceeded in vehemence the language of denunciation used by Belgian Deputies in the Belgian House of Representatives.

As to the statement sometimes made that England has political ambitions in the Congo, the insinuation is not only contrary to fact, it is ludicrous. No one who has the least knowledge of the true situation in the Congo valley can suppose for a single moment that either England or any other Power covets an inch of the territory. As Mr. Alfred Emmott, M.P., very pertinently stated in the course of the last Congo debate in the House of Commons, the Congo will be a *damnosa heriditas* to those who come after the "vampires," to use the words of M. Grogan, the African explorer, who are sucking the country dry. Even if the present régime were abolished to-morrow, it would take years and years, generations perhaps, of patient effort to repair the ravages which fourteen years of a policy of almost incoherent wrong-doing has produced. Not only is the country being ruined economically, but its inhabitants are being extirpated on a scale which is positively appalling. We have enough statistics on that point to convince the most skeptical of mortals. And everywhere is being raised a spirit of intensest hatred against the white man, the results of which will be the aftermath, the Nemesis, of the apathy and sheer stupidity of the

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civilized Powers, in sitting still while the process is going on. Then consider the problem presented by the existence of some thirty thousand armed native soldiers who are loyal only so long as they are given full permission to rape and loot and oppress generally; only so long as they can live like their white masters in the villages in which they are stationed, calling upon native labor to furnish them with the best of food, to build them residences which are miniature forts; only so long as they are allowed to usurp the functions of the native chiefs, single out the best-looking women for their concubines, and rule as supreme overlords in the midst of the wretched communities which are compelled to support them—in addition to paying the rubber tribute—under threat of instant and ruthless punishment. England want the Congo! Would a man willingly fasten a millstone about his neck? But let there be no mistake about it. The present situation cannot be indefinitely prolonged. Sooner or later one of three things *must* happen: (1) A Belgian administration, under distinct guarantees to the Powers, and controlled by the Belgian Parliament; (2) international supervision of some sort or another; (3) political partition. Personally, I do not care two straws what solution is arrived at. What my friends and myself are concerned with is that the great principle of justice for which we are fighting shall triumph, that the stipulations laid down by the Berlin and Brussels Conferences shall be enforced, and that the Congo people shall be liberated from the yoke of slavery under which—to quote the words of one of the brave men who, in defiance of personal risks, has been exposing the iniquities occurring in his particular district—they are "groaning and dying."

So far as the third count is in question, the charge will not bear examination even on its own merits. The largest market in the world for india-rubber is, and is likely so to remain, the port of Liverpool. Liverpool has no reason to be "jealous" of Havre, Antwerp, or Bordeaux as a rival rubber market. That Liverpool should be "jealous" of Antwerp is an amusing fiction. Perhaps the following figures will make this clear:

IMPORTS OF INDIA-RUBBER INTO LIVERPOOL AND ANTWERP, RESPECTIVELY, FROM 1900 TO 1903, INCLUSIVE

	Liverpool.	Antwerp.
1900	19,399 tons	5,698 tons
1901	18,396 "	5,849 "
1902	17,319 "	5,404 "
1903	19,204 "	5,726 "
Total	74,318 "	22,677 "

If there were any "jealousy" at all, one would logically assume that it would be "jealousy" on the part of Antwerp towards a port which during the last four years has imported more than three times the quantity of rubber that Antwerp has imported. In point of fact, if I am not mistaken, Havre also imports more india-rubber than Antwerp, but I speak from memory only, as the figures are not accessible to me at the time of writing. Needless to say, this foolish insinuation is merely put forward as a plausible argument to mislead people who are thought to be too busy to look into the facts. So much for the matter in its bald aspects.

If there is anything which stands out with an absolutely close-cut clearness in this controversy, it is the humanitarian origin of this movement against the abuses of King Leopold's administration, and its essentially popular character. Begun by the Aborigines Protection Society, whose whole record is one long protest against the exploitation of the colored races, and whose work is unpopular with many sections of Englishmen, it is gradually assuming the proportions of a national protest which cannot be disregarded, and which has compelled the British Government to such action as it has already taken.

That the vast Congo territories have been closed to the legitimate commerce of all nations is, necessarily, a matter for objection and protest, and it has been protested against in Germany as well as in England; and I hope that those protests will continue to be even more emphatic, for not only is the claim set up by King Leopold to possession of the products of the soil (*i. e.*, of the elements which constitute commerce in tropical Africa) a monstrous infringement of the

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Berlin Act, but it is the direct cause of the oppression and atrocities which have awakened the conscience of Christendom. The practical effect of the enforcement of this claim is the enslavement of the population, for if the commercial relationship between the white man and the black in tropical Africa is suppressed by appropriating the only articles the African has to sell, Force, brutal, pitiless, and uncompromising, is the only possible substitute for the acquirement of these articles.

Fortunately, or unfortunately, it has long been clear that the reversal of this policy, which is the basic factor of King Leopold's rule, means a complete upheaval of the Congo State as at present constituted; and it is because such is recognized in Brussels to be the cardinal feature of the situation that every possible effort is being made by the sovereign of the Congo State to mislead public opinion in Europe and America by imputing interested motives to the greatest humanitarian movement which has swayed the minds and the hearts of Englishmen since the days when Gladstone thundered in England against the Bulgarian atrocities.

Mr. Bryce's "The Holy Roman Empire"[1]

THE publication of new editions of James Bryce's "The Holy Roman Empire" has been of frequent occurrence since this remarkable historical treatise made its appearance forty years ago; but not since the edition of 1873 has it shown such changes as are now apparent—changes which, while not materially affecting the main argument, are nevertheless of a character and extent that make the present edition completely supersede its predecessors. Not only has Mr. Bryce rewritten the work with a view to the clearer presentation of the theories it elaborates, but he has met and has admirably overcome the criticisms to which it was formerly exposed—the seeming neglect of certain striking personalities and events, the inadequate treatment of the Byzantine Empire, and the expression of views rendered untenable by the political developments of the past quarter of a century. The ripe scholarship, the philosophic insight, and the judicial temperament of the distinguished author are revealed with increased vividness, and the treatise as it stands to-day is more than ever an impressive illustration of literary evolution. That a prize composition should grow into such a monument of erudition is difficult to realize—seldom have essays waxed thus lustily. But it was no common composition that gained for Mr. Bryce the Arnold laurels at Oxford, and his subsequent career has well sustained those who, on the strength of that essay, hailed him as a historian of the first order. Could Freeman, for instance, scan the Arnold essay in its present form, he might with pride point to the words penned by him on the occasion of its original publication: "Men naturally and rightly look with some suspicion on criticism which speaks of a novice in language which is seldom deserved even by a veteran. But it is only in such language that we can utter our honest conviction with regard to the merits of the volume before us. Mr. Bryce's essay may seem ephemeral in form, but it is not ephemeral in substance. He has, in truth, by a single youthful effort, placed himself on a level with men who have given their lives to historical study. . . . Mr. Bryce's essay must be placed in the same rank, and must be judged by the same standard, as the most voluminous work of professed historians. He has done for historic literature a service as great as any of theirs."

Within the space at our disposal it must suffice to indicate the changes which radically distinguish the present edition from the editions that have gone before. First of all, and with unmingled feelings of satisfaction, we observe, side by side with a constant endeavor at increased exactness of statement, not only an access of moderation in comparison and

[1] *The Holy Roman Empire.* By James Bryce. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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caution in judgment, but an access of stateliness of diction. Mr. Bryce has always been among those historians who hold that history, having to do with a grand subject, should be invested in the telling with grandeur, and his "The Holy Roman Empire" has long been a noteworthy example of concrete application of this theory. In this respect, however, it now shows a distinct advance. The jewels of verbiage that formerly adorned it have been retained and repolished with loving care, and to them have been added new gems; the imaginative quality and the accuracy of the true historian are pre-eminent throughout, illuminating the obvious and the obscure alike.

It speaks well for the manner in which Mr. Bryce performed in other years his self-appointed task of restoring order out of the chaos of mediæval Europe that the revision he has found it necessary to make in his exposition of the rise, decline, and fall of the ancient Empire is of an elucidatory rather than a corrective nature. The more important changes in this portion of his work may be briefly summarized. In Chapter V. Mr. Bryce, discussing the reluctance of Charles the Great to assume the Imperial title, incorporates the theories of Dahn and Hodgkin; in Chapter VII. he enters into a broader explanation of the theories that went to sustain the Empire through the Middle Ages; Chapter XIII., on "The Fall of the Hohenstaufen," he considerably enlarges by the inclusion of a fuller account of the momentous struggle between Louis IV. and Pope John XXII.; in Chapter XIV. he develops the early electoral system under the Germanic Constitution; in Chapter XV. the theories regarding the source of civil authority, a vexed question subsequent to the struggle of the Investitures, are discussed more largely; Chapter XVI., "The City of Rome in the Middle Ages," contains new studies of Arnold of Brescia and Cola di Rienzo. Chapter XVII. is entirely new, embodying an account of the Eastern Empire and affording a comprehensive idea of the impress made on history by the people and rulers of New Rome; finally, in Chapter XVIII., the attempts to reform the Germanic Constitution are disclosed in greater detail. To this it should be added that the text is more fully annotated, that greatly needed maps are supplied, and that, in addition to the chronological list of Popes and Emperors found in previous editions, there is a compact and helpful table of salient events connected with the Empire.

It is when we turn to the concluding chapters that we find the most drastic revision, and particularly in the two immediately preceding the new chapter wherein Mr. Bryce sums up the characteristics of the German Empire of the twentieth century and endeavors to estimate the forces that have contributed to its unification. In previous editions these chapters, treating of the results of the long duration of the Holy Roman Empire, of the rise of the Prussian monarchy, of the formation of the North German Confederation, and of the welding of Germany by William and Bismarck, have contained much in the way of allusion to modern Germany, Austria, and France that political changes have rendered either incorrect or antiquated, and Mr. Bryce has now accomplished a highly desirable task in eliminating the misleading and in making a new evaluation. A significant retention, however, is seen in the paragraphs relating to Austria's claim to the heritage of the Holy Empire, Mr. Bryce repeating, although in a slightly modified form, his vigorous denunciation of Austria "written in 1865: Austria, taught by adversity, has turned over a new leaf since then." The excuse proffered for the repetition of these paragraphs, and a valid excuse, is that "few people, outside Germany, realize to-day the part which the Old Empire played in the political controversies of Germany when Austria was still a German power."

Of the Germany of to-day Mr. Bryce now writes, as he is in a position to write, with a confidence, precision, and justice impossible at the time he first incorporated, in a chapter that has too long done service, his observations on the progress to nationality. Surveying the successive stages of the movement from the days when the Germanic Confederation of 1815 was erected upon the ruins of the Holy Empire, he sketches the structure, organization, and constitu-

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tion of the present Empire (lineally, still regarded by him as a descendant of the East Frankish kingdom of Conrad the First and Henry the Fowler rather than of the ancient Empire, but in a real sense the latter's representative) with a vividness enhanced, as is his wont, by informing comparisons; studies the forces that have enabled the country to attain what he deems "a higher stage of effective action for common purposes than was ever attained before," and examines the prospects for the maintenance of unity. These are painted in the brightest of colors. The predictions of foreign observers who, at the time the new Empire started on its career in 1871, saw in the complicated constitution and in the racial and religious differences of the various German peoples insuperable obstacles, have been belied by the event, and so far belied that Mr. Bryce feels himself justified in declaring that "Germany has, without becoming Prussian, grown to be more and more a united nation; and, so far from falling back into its old divisions, or splitting up into racial sections, it has developed a cohesive force and a Pan-Germanic sentiment which may even draw to itself, when the time comes for the dissolution of the ill-compacted Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the eight millions of Germans who inhabit the western half of that spacious realm."

As with Germany so has it been with Italy. "The two great races whose national life had been sacrificed to the mediæval Empire regained it together, and regained it by the defeat of that Empire's ancient antagonists, the ecclesiastical power and the monarch of France. The triumph of nationality was complete." That Italy has advanced less rapidly than Germany is ascribed to her feebler natural resources, and to the greater misgovernment of the past. But real progress is evident, and, which is still more significant, "in both countries, while the thoughts of the educated class have been occupied with practical and economic questions rather than with political themes or religious reforms, the masses of the people, stirred by a new antagonism to the wealthier classes and a new passion for equality, have begun to busy themselves with projects for so transforming the structure of society as to secure a better distribution, or even perhaps an ultimate extinction, of private property." Such ideas and projects lead Mr. Bryce to ponder on the changes in the beliefs of mankind since the Holy Roman Empire represented its loftiest ideal of government, and to consider the steps whereby the phantom of universal dominion was dissipated, the vast fabric of mediæval society and doctrine rent asunder. Centuries were required—but the work has been done, and done thoroughly. "The larger kingdoms," writes Mr. Bryce in an admirable epitome of processes, "were consolidated, and the nations that dwelt in them felt themselves to be nations. New worlds were disclosed beyond the ocean, worlds which Rome had never known; and in them have arisen new nations, one of which is mightier than any European State. The literary and philosophical Renaissance of the fifteenth century passed into the religious Reformation of the sixteenth, and out of the two movements arose the political Revolution which began in England in the seventeenth century, convulsed France in the eighteenth, reached Italy and Germany in the nineteenth." Therefore "it is not only a new Germany and a new Italy that we see, but a new Europe." The conditions of life have changed, "the mists of imagination have rolled off, and the world is now governed by facts—facts that stand out, hard and clear, in the light of common day." Foremost among these facts is the ideal of individual freedom, an ideal, however, which "has not realized all that was expected. . . . Material interests are uppermost in the minds of nations as in those of individuals, and the idealism of this new Europe is, so to speak, a material kind of idealism compared to the old types of perfection in Church and State, as they were set forth either by the Catholic Church in the days of Hildebrand, or by religious reformers from the days of Arnold of Brescia to those of Savonarola and of Calvin." Yet the teachings of world-history "seem to show that men do not for any long time remain without a consistent theory of

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life, and a faith on which to ground such a theory. Ages of negation and criticism are succeeded by ages of construction." And thus we find Mr. Bryce taking farewell of his readers with the hopeful reflection that, "filled with discordant schools of thought and irreconcilable schemes for social progress, permeated by a skepticism which distrusts all schemes equally, the world may appear to be waiting for some new idealistic system possibly already in the germ."

The Americans[1]

WITHOUT taking into account the numerous works on Russia and Japan, it is safe to say that few years have seen so many important accessions to the literature of international appreciation as has the year 1904. To the front we find three books having to do with the United States, one written by an Englishman, another by a Frenchman, and the third by a German—Archibald R. Colquhoun's "Greater America," Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu's "Les États-Unis au XX^e Siècle," and Hugo Münsterberg's "Die Americäner"—the first two of which have already received notice in these columns. Professor Münsterberg's monograph, published in Germany some months ago, now makes its appearance in an English version, and will doubtless attract a large number of readers curious to ascertain what opinions of the United States and its people the author of "American Traits" may hold other than those expressed in that pungent critique. Surprise will be occasioned by the discovery that the tone of the present work is essentially optimistic, and, unless the preface be read, there must be an inclination to believe that Professor Münsterberg has made a *volte face*. At the outset, however, he makes his position plain. "American Traits" was written in order to defend before Americans German ideals; "The Americans," to interpret for Germans American ideals and to exhibit the bases on which the United States rests as a world power. The two books, therefore, ought to be read as complementary to one another. Of the two the later is by far the more pretentious. It includes not only an attempt to portray the American genius, but also to make a comprehensive survey of present-day religious, political, economic, social, and intellectual phenomena and problems. Necessarily it traverses much ground already so well covered by Bryce, Colquhoun, and Leroy-Beaulieu, but, strictly speaking, it is comparable rather with such a work as Emile Boutmy's "The English People." For, like M. Boutmy's striking if somewhat unsatisfactory monograph, it is primarily an essay in interracial psychology, an endeavor by a foreigner "to study the American man and his inner tendencies."

Precisely where M. Boutmy's greatest weakness lies is Professor Münsterberg most open to criticism. The Gallican tendency to reduce facts to axiomatic formulæ, and to base the widest generalizations thereon, is almost as apparent in "The Americans" as it was in "The English People." For M. Boutmy's: The Englishman is what he is because he is incapable of abstract reasoning, because he is a creature of effort for the sake of effort, and is thus constituted by reason of his natural environment—we have Professor Münsterberg's: The American is what he is because he is imbued with the spirit of self-direction, the spirit of self-initiative, the spirit of self-perfection, and the spirit of self-assertion. Professor Münsterberg carries abstraction even further by ascribing to each of these qualities respectively the determining force in the political, economic, intellectual, and social life of the Americans. From some of the blunders into which M. Boutmy falls he escapes by virtue of his more intimate personal acquaintance with the people whereof he writes, but, like M. Boutmy, he encounters too many "exceptions" to his formulæ to steer the craft of his "Phi-

[1] *The Americans*. By Hugo Münsterberg. Translated by Edwin B. Holt, Ph.D. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.

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losophy of Americanism" into the pleasant harbor of generalization without receiving some dangerous blows from the sunken reefs of fact.

To defect of method must be added blemishes of misstatement and even errors of prejudice. Happily, however, misstatement and prejudice are, as a rule, absent when the discussion turns on fundamentals necessary to an adequate interpretation of the American spirit. The most noteworthy and unfortunate exception in this respect develops in a chapter devoted to our "External Problems," wherein Professor Münsterberg undertakes a remarkable attack on the Monroe Doctrine, an attack which will doubtless gain for him German applause, but which is characterized neither by logic nor fair-mindedness. Mention could be made of other passages in which it is plainly discernible that the wish is father to the thought. But in the ultimate, taking full account of what the work holds of weakness and error, there can be no doubt that it renders a distinct service to the readers of both countries. It should go far towards removing the undoubted misapprehension of American conditions and purposes that exists in the German mind, and it should stimulate the American to a fuller faith in his country and to higher thought and action. Seldom have we seen such a complete record of American achievement, individual and national, as is embodied in the pages dealing with the concrete facts of our development. Here and there, indeed, Professor Münsterberg's admiration for certain phases of American endeavor impels him to what must seem, to the most patriotic, extravagance of statement. But his hint, "I know too well that, besides the self-direction, self-realization, self-perfection, and self-assertion, there is, more vivid still, the spirit of self-satisfaction, whose story I have forgotten to include in this volume," should serve as a salutary check to undue pride.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Apostle Peter (The): Outline Studies in His Life, Character, and Writings. By W. H. Griffith Thomas, B.D. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 296 pages. $1.25, net.

Mr. Thomas has the advantage of knowing Greek, and is generally a good exegete of the original text, though he dissents from such authorities as Trench and Vincent in his explanation of the two Greek words for "love" in Jesus' triple question to Peter. His book is of a higher type than many manuals of Bible readings, and abounds in materials for expository addresses.

Art of Creation (The): Essays on the Self and Its Powers. By Edward Carpenter. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 254 pages.

This is a remarkable piece of thinking. Though it will probably carry but few minds with it, and is indeed open to serious question, it lays hold of some basal truths of the first importance, even though it may push them beyond bounds. The central ideas of the author are these: The problem of the Universe is insoluble except by assuming a transcendent factor, a universal Being. Men are creators in the inner world of thought and imagination, whose forms are instinct with the life of the thinker. The forms of the outer world are the thoughts of the universal Being; there is no dead matter; all things are instinct with the one creative life. Its universal consciousness incarnates itself in all, even in the tiniest cell. Of consciousness there are three forms, with three stages of human history corresponding—the animal or savage stage, the intellectual or civilized, and the spiritual or divinized, the characteristic of which last is the conscious merging of the separate self in union with the universal Self. Here, says the author, "it begins to dawn on us that, identifying ourselves with this immortal self, we also can take part consciously in the everlasting act of creation." As to this, the mystic or transcendentalist may claim to be judged by his peers. Regarding the Oversoul as incarnate in the race-life, all the deities in their ascending grades are represented as personating its great formative ideas. But when it is represented that Jesus of Nazareth simply supplied form and outline to a new creative idea, for which a new type of human being that had arisen demanded an embodiment, it is simply an inversion of history. The book is one that stimulates thought and provokes criticism in every chapter.

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Aus Deutschen Landen. By M. Meissner. Edited by Josefa Schrakamp. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 4¼×6¾ in. 196 pages.

Bismarck's Speeches and Letters. By Hermann Schoenfeld, Ph.D., LL.D. (Twentieth Century Text-Books.) D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 397 pages.

Dr. Schoenfeld deserves credit for his work in this admirable volume. Even in Germany, Bismarck, as epistolographer and orator, has been fully appreciated only in recent years. It was natural that his political grandeur should overshadow his literary greatness. Another obstacle to an edition of Bismarck's works was their incompleteness and uncritical condition. Only after his resignation from the Chancellorship of the German Empire was any definitive editing seriously undertaken. All the minor and incomplete editions were superseded. Dr. Schoenfeld's volume consists mostly of Bismarck's speeches. To each speech there is an illuminating preface in English, and at the end of the volume we find a gratifyingly large number of pages of notes. A chronology and a bibliography supplement the illuminative introduction to the whole work. The book is indispensable to the student of contemporary history as affected by Germany, but especially to the student of the unification of Germany itself, an accomplishment due in most part to Bismarck's genius. We have learned about Bismarck's personality through the various biographies by Messrs. Lowe, Headlam, Stearns, and Jacks, by M. Andler, by Herr Busch, through Mr. Ford's edition of the "Correspondence of William I. and Bismarck," and through Bismarck's own "Reflections and Reminiscences;" above all, through his "Love Letters." But no one of these books sums up Bismarck's life-work as does Dr. Schoenfeld's.

Burden of the City (The). By Isabelle Horton. (Home Mission Study Course.) The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 4½×8 in. 222 pages. 50c., net.

The "burden" is the responsibility which the human needs, the moral perils, and the religious darkness of the city poor and their children impose upon their Christian neighbors. How to carry it is here described by one of deep convictions as to the duty of applied Christianity, and of large experience in its practical methods. Her book is alive with warm feeling and wise intelligence. Its chapters on Settlement Work, the Modern Church and its Methods, the Deaconess in City Missions, Children's Work, and Co-operation constitute a manual of practical philanthropy worthy of study in all churches. It is specially adapted to the uses of a text-book by pages of notes, hints, questions, collateral reading, etc., appended to its chapters.

Culture of Simplicity (The). By Malcolm James McLeod. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×8 in. 192 pages. $1, net.

The theme which Virgil and Horace invested with a poetic charm amid the inordinate luxury of imperial Rome, and which Pastor Wagner has recently urged upon our feverish modern life, is here presented with ethical vigor, with literary grace, and with a touch of the deepest chords of life, as "the gospel for an age of unrest." Mr. McLeod's criticism of current extravagance is keen but kindly; it is illustrated with anecdote and incident and enlivened with epigram; it appeals to the experience embodied in literature and history; it lays stress upon the influence of education and the home, and, above all, upon the simplicity exemplified in Jesus. The culture of simplicity is for the sake of the eternal realities. And so the truth contended for is that simplicity is culture, is spirituality, is power; "the spiritual is the solution of everything." This is both a charming and a tonic book.

Children in Literature: Selections from the Works of Victor Hugo, Charles Dickens, and George Eliot. By Mary H. Husted. Illustrated. The A. Flanagan Company, New York. 5¼×8 in. 179 pages. 35c.

Glimpses of Pioneer Life for Little Folks. Illustrated. The A. Flanagan Company, New York. 5×7½ in. 166 pages. 40c.

Governance of England (The). By Sidney Low, M.A. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5½×9 in. 320 pages. $2.25.

A well-informed, well-written, and interesting description of the government of Great Britain, beginning with a definition of the British constitution, so difficult of characterization, but explained by Mr. Low in a thoroughly rational and comprehensive way. Great Britain has no constitution in the American or in the French use of the word; it has a mass of customs, precedents, and Acts of Parliament. The British people can do what they choose with their government in a single political campaign. No government system in the world is so flexible; none would be so dangerous if it were not for the extraordinary political education behind it, the advanced political character which it has developed, and the sound, practical sagacity which has always characterized the English constituency. Mr. Low gives a very interesting account of the place and function of the Prime Minister, of the Cabinet, of the Privy Council, of both Houses of Parliament, and of every other form and function of government in Great Britain. Probably no book has yet appeared which, in so untechnical and comprehensive a way, places before the reader the elaborate, highly complex, and thoroughly democratic governmental system which has proved to be one of the most enduring and powerful in the world.

Guide for the Perplexed (The). By Moses Maimonides. Translated from the Original Arabic Text by M. Friedlander, Ph.D. (Second Edition, Revised Throughout.) E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8¾ in. 414 pages. $3, net.

"From Moses to Moses there was none like Moses." Thus was Moses, the son of Maimon, a Spanish Jew of the thirteenth century, celebrated in a popular saying for his learning and wisdom. The reconciliation of reason and revelation, of science and religion,

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was his design in this great treatise, interesting to all students of Jewish theology and literature as a magazine of curious lore. In the present edition the three volumes of the first edition have been put into one, and Hebrew words or phrases have been either transliterated or removed.

Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects. By S. H. Butcher, Litt.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 266 pages.

In this volume Professor Butcher has given so illuminating an interpretation of the Greek spirit that one wishes it might be put in inexpensive form and placed in the hands of every American reader. The book is a model of the kind a scholar ought to write, but unfortunately few scholars attain either the mastery of their subject, the breadth of view, the thoroughgoing common sense, or the charm of style which have made this book possible. Professor Butcher knows his subject, and he deals with it in the freshest way and in the most human spirit. There is not a touch of the dry-as-dust or even of the professional scholar in him; not an echo of those shibboleths or professional affectations which are so common in books of this kind. He deals with his subject as a Greek would have dealt with it, concerned only with those aspects which relate to life, and interpreting art always as an expression of life. His comparative studies of the Phœnician and the Greek and of the Greek and the Hebrew are illuminating and informing to the last degree. His interpretation of Greek art and inspiration ought to be in the hands of young writers and students of literature. The two chapters on "Greek Literary Criticism" are addressed more especially to students, but they have the same vitality and charm which pervade the other chapters. Scholars could render no greater service to the world than in the preparation of such volumes as this. It will probably be dismissed in some quarters with the familiar and well-worn comment that it is a mere piece of "popularization" of knowledge—as if to understand the spirit of a great race and to make others understand it were not the chief function and the highest use of scholarship!

Historic Highways of America. Vol. XIV. **The Future of Road-Making in America: A Symposium.** By Archer Butler Hulbert and Others. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio. 5×7¾ in. 211 pages. $2.50, net.

The latest volume in that admirable series, "Historic Highways of America," comprises a symposium by Mr. Archer Butler Hulbert and others on the future of road-making in America. We are instructed on the question both in its sociological and its financial aspects, but we are especially enlightened as to the possibility of government co-operation in object-lesson road work, on good roads for farmers, on the selection for material for macadam roads, and, because of the advanced position which New Jersey has taken in road-making, on a description of stone roads in that State. Valuable as is this volume, it is not quite clear why it should be included in a series which has to do supposedly only with historic highways.

Heart of Asbury's Journal (The). Edited by Ezra Squier Tipple, D.D. Illustrated. Eaton & Mains, New York. 5½×8¾ in. 720 pages. $1.50, net. (Postage, 25c.)

Francis Asbury, first bishop of American Methodists, with a diocese in which our whole country was included, kept a journal which now constitutes the best and almost the only record of the infancy of his Church on this continent. A truly apostolic man was he, a great preacher and administrator from Maine to Georgia, till his death in 1816. Dr. Tipple has edited the main portions of his journal, adding notes and numerous illustrations, together with a good index. It bears ample testimony to the early opposition to slavery that existed at the South and among Methodists generally.

Higher Critic's Bible (The), or God's Bible. By William Henry Burns, M.A., D.D. Eaton & Mains, New York. 4½×7½ in. 320 pages. $1.25.

In his Preface the author frankly declares that the higher criticism "must be treated as an enemy." After this one can hardly expect anything like a discriminating and fair discusston. A specimen sentence exhibits the sort of argument relied on: "Is it not plain that if Adam was a *myth* and there was no *fall*, there was no *sin* and no *redemption?*" Those who dispute this are set down as parting company with "common sense." All this ranks fairly well with John Wesley's famous pronouncement in 1768: "The giving up of witchcraft is in effect the giving up of the Bible."

History of Science (A). By Henry Smith Williams, M.D., LL.D. Assisted by Edward H. Williams, M.D. In 5 vols. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. 5¾×9 in. $19.

Reserved for later notice.

History of Preaching (A): From the Apostolic Fathers to the Great Reformers, A.D. 70-1572. By Edwin Charles Dargan, D.D., LL.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. 5¼×8¼ in. 577 pages.

This, the first of three volumes, carries the subject to the close of the Reformation period. The two that are to follow will treat of Modern European Preaching and the History of Preaching in the United States. Thus a field at present but partially worked will be fully covered. The present volume treats successively of the patristic preaching, its decline after the fourth century, mediæval preaching from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, and the subsequent renaissance. As in art the tendencies to classicism and to romanticism must be held in balance, so, in preaching, the tradition of its working methods must go in hand with adaptation to its present environment. But the statement of "the two great principles" emphasized by that tradition, viz., the authority of the Scriptures as a divine revelation, and justification by faith in Christ as a Saviour from sin, is defective. It does not include the primitive tradition of the doctrine that Jesus put in the forefront, "the Gospel of the Kingdom of God." Apart

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from this, the social half of Christianity, the whole Gospel cannot be, and has not yet been, brought into the field of human life.

Home Care of the Sick: Lesson Books. Parts I. and II. Prepared by Amy Elizabeth Pope. Illustrated. The American School of Household Economics, Chicago, Ill. 5×7¾ in. $1, net.

Humanity and God. By Samuel Chadwick. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×8¼ in. 356 pages. $1.50, net.

The author of the discourses collected under this title is known in England for his success as a Wesleyan missioner, heard gladly by plain people. A vein of mysticism runs through his thought, but his speech is pointed and vigorous. He is a skillful Biblical expositor, and his discourse on "The Extra Mile" is one of the best in the multitude of those on Jesus' doctrine of non-resistance. The theology underlying all is a blend of old and new, largely old, but on the bed-rock of the new, the identity of the human and the divine. This gives to the collection its title.

In the Arena: Stories of Political Life. By Booth Tarkington. Illustrated. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 276 pages.

Half a dozen decidedly clever and human tales in which Mr. Tarkington's knowledge of practical politics is utilized. Sturdy independence in politics is not inconsistent with common sense, and in this respect reformers as well as machine politicians might draw a lesson from these stories.

John Brown, The Hero: Personal Reminiscences. By J. W. Winkley, M.D. Illustrated. The James H. West Co., Boston. 4½×7¼ in. 126 pages. 85c. (Postage, 6c.)

Journal of Eliza and Various Letters (The). By Laurence Sterne and Elizabeth Draper. (York Edition.) Illustrated. J. F. Taylor & Co., New York. 5½×9½ in. 287 pages.

Leben Jesu Christi (Das). Von Dr. Konrad Furrer. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig. 5¼×8½ in. 261 pages.

This life of Christ is interesting because it is an essentially popular life. Its author does not regard it as his task to work over all the material which might be taken into consideration in preparing a life of Christ. His task is not to give to Christians what might be called a strictly scientific biography. The world is already rich in such. But the world is hardly rich in lives of Christ exhibiting the results of scientific study and in a form to appeal to "the man in the street." Such a practical purpose the Zurich professor puts before himself. As he well says, Christ is too little known to the common people, and still less understood. One might say that those who wish to know about Christ should study the Gospels; but considerable labor is necessary in order to obtain, reverently, from the Gospels just what is needed in the constitution of a biography. No literal translation from the original text is sufficient; one needs also the witness of the spirit of the times in which our Lord lived. Some think that an unbridgable abyss separates us from the life of the spirit in the old Orient. They forget, however, that humanity remains practically the same in its inmost being in the two hemispheres throughout the centuries, and that the same spiritual life as our own can pulsate under an entirely strange and foreign exterior. Dr. Furrer's book is notable, first, because it exhibits the essential unity of the Orient and the Occident in religious thought, and, secondly, because it shows that of all men Christ was the most practical. It proves that the real historical Christ is only more than ever a Saviour and a strengthener.

Life of Father Ignatius, O.S.B.: The Monk of Llanthony. By the Baroness de Bertouch. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 607 pages. $3, net.

The devout but pugnacious Anglican monk of the Cyrillian type, commemorated by an admirer in this biography, made himself temporarily famous in this country by a tempestuous "mission," characterized, as the author says, by "bearding these translatlantic lions [Dr. Rainsford, Bishop Brooks, and other Broad Churchmen] in the strongholds of their native dens." In his native land, while engaged in self-denying labors for the lowly and needy, he distinguished himself chiefly as a "son of thunder" against such men as Dean Stanley and Bishop Gore, his public attacks on their "infidelity" gaining for him, says his biographer, much "opprobrium and persecution." Yet, as she says, he was "magnificently human," his personality was "oceanic." No doubt he was an extraordinary phenomenon, whatever be thought of his alleged supernatural powers, extending even to the raising of the dead. The story of his life is a curious episode in the history of the modern Church, an interesting study for the psychologist, and an instructive commentary on the worth of a formal sort of Church union that is too much thought of.

Life of Florence Nightingale (The). By Sarah A. Tooley. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 344 pages. $1.75.

Many American readers will be surprised to learn that Miss Nightingale is still living. She last year passed the fiftieth anniversary of her departure for the Crimea, where her heroic labors on behalf of the sick and wounded, as the author says, made her name a household word in every part of the British Empire. The story is here told with enthusiasm and vivacity. The book has several really interesting portraits.

Little Brother to the Bear and Other Animal Studies. By William J. Long. Illustrated. (Wood Folk Series. Book Five.) Ginn & Co., Boston. 5¼×7½ in. 178 pages. 50c.

Two or three of these tales of animal life appeared originally in The Outlook, whose readers greatly enjoyed their vivacity and lifelike studies of animal nature. The book is charmingly printed and illustrated.

Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi (The). Rendered into English Verse by James Rhoades. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 302 pages. $2, net.

The "Fioretti" of St. Francis of Assisi is here again translated into English. Mr. Rhoades's blank verse is not always rhythmic, but his language well renders the spirit of

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that mediæval day when St. Francis directed men's minds to spiritual vision as they have rarely been directed.

Livre Français (Le): A Practical Introduction to Reading and Conversation. By Josefa Schrakamp. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 195 pages. 75c.

Manœuvres of Jane (The): An Original Comedy in Four Acts. By Henry Arthur Jones. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 124 pages.

Mr. Jones's play has had a great success on the stage, and it reads well, although the literary form emphasizes the fact that it is really more of a farce than a comedy.

Material for Practical German Conversation. By Laurence Fossler. Ginn & Co., Boston. 4½×6½ in. 255 pages.

Medici Balls (The): Seven Little Journeys in Tuscany. By Anna R. Sheldon and M. Moyca Newell. Illustrated. Charterhouse Press, New York. 6½×9 in. 231 pages. $3.50, net.

To the interesting books on Tuscany by Montgomery Carmichael, Janet Ross, and Maurice Hewlett must now be added the present volume. Its title is somewhat singular. We learn that it was adopted because the authors, in their travels in country lanes and among modest farm-houses, found themselves generally under the ægis of the once-powerful banker-princes of Florence. Just why, however, they should have chosen the seven balls, representing the arms of Piero de Medici, instead of the eight balls displayed on the arms of Cosimo, "Pater Patriæ," or the six balls of Lorenzo the Magnificent, is not quite evident. The excursions of the authors are of particular interest to the lovers of Tuscany, because we are taken into rather untrodden districts. The out-of-doors life of these districts is described for us in pleasant detail. The text has received capital typographical setting and the illustrations are original and apt. We wish, however, that the volume were not so heavy to the hand.

Mediterranean Traveler (The). By D. E. Lorenz, Ph.D. Illustrated. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×8 in. 357 pages. $2.50, net.

A guide-book and work of historical and general information which covers southern Spain, Morocco, Algiers, the more prominent cities of northern Africa, Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt. The type is legible—a merit rare in guide-books—and there are many maps and pictures. The "Mediterranean Traveler" will find here in one volume what elsewhere must be picked out of several.

Modern Industrial Progress. By Charles H. Cochrane. Illustrated. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 6×9½ in. 647 pages. $3, net.

The tremendous industrial progress of the past few decades is recorded in this volume in brief descriptions of many inventions and discoveries and new applications of old discoveries in manufacturing, scientific research, transportation, means of communication, and the varied activities of war and peace. The volume is obviously intended for popular consumption, having no orderly or logical arrangement of subjects, and the treatment being absolutely untechnical.

Modern Legionary (A). By John Patrick Le Poer. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 311 pages. $1.50.

This little volume is somewhat of an enigma. It purports to relate the experiences of the author as a soldier of the French Foreign Legion on service in Algeria and Tonquin, and is written, from the autobiographical standpoint, with singular but at times unedifying frankness. It is not easy, however, to dismiss the idea that a vast deal of fancy is intermingled with the fact, so extraordinary are the adventures accredited to the narrator. Enlisted in a corps that holds the ne'er-do-wells of all nations, "the worst used and most feared corps on the face of the earth," he becomes, though but a lad of seventeen, a veritable cock-of-the-walk, ringleader in sanguinary escapades enlivening days of idleness, recipient of a medal for gallantry, and finally a fugitive from the Legion under sentence of death, attaining liberty only after a series of sensational encounters with the children of the desert. For background, the brutality and licentiousness of Legion life in barracks, camp, and troopship are painted with a vividness surpassing even the lurid hues in which Lieutenant Bilse has presented German garrison conditions. Like Lieutenant Bilse's writings, Mr. Le Poer's book leaves an unpleasant taste. But with all its cynicism and unquestionable offenses against the canons of good taste, it is not without value as a protest against the evils of militarism and war, a forcefully worded indictment reciting the evils attendant upon armed strife.

Nella Bottega del Cambiavalute. By Enrico Castelnuovo. Pp. 288. Baldini, Castoldi e Compagnia, Milan.

Among contemporary Italian novelists Signor Castelnuovo holds a deservedly high place, and among his novels none seems more admirable than the present volume in plot, character-drawing, and style. Like the late Ludovic Halévy in France, so, in Italy, Enrico Castelnuovo stands for the romance *virginibus puerisque*. As "L'Abbé Constantin" is a good story, albeit perfectly safe for any age, the same may be said quite as emphatically of "Nella Bottega del Cambiavalute." The plot is one which appeals not only to Italians, but also to foreigners; for it has to do with Venice, and with that center of Italian and foreign life in Venice—the Square of St. Mark's. Who has strolled under the arches surrounding that square and has not noticed the money-changers' offices? Though they seem the most commonplace of any feature of the great Piazza, in the shop of a particular "cambiavalute" or money-changer, according to our romancer, a drama once occurred worth the telling. The novelist describes it for us in such clearness of outline that we lay the book down after having read it through only to take it up again and peruse it once more. The characters stand out with remarkable distinctness; in this respect Castelnuovo even exceeds Foggazzaro, perhaps the most eminent of all living Italian novelists. Finally,

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Signor Castelnuovo's style is one which in condensation and clearness should commend itself to writers everywhere. In less than three hundred pages in rather large print he has given to us the atmosphere and charm and pathos of a story which, in the hands of the ordinary man (and, indeed, in the hands of some extraordinary men opposed in other respects, such as Mr. Henry James and the late Émile Zola, for instance), would probably have been expanded into a book of twice the length.

Newly Found Words of Jesus. Discourses by W. Garrett Horder. S. C. Brown, Langham & Co., London. 4×7 in. 128 pages.

New texts for old topics are always esteemed by preachers a welcome find. As such the new sayings of Jesus and fragments of a lost gospel, found at Oxyrynchus in Egypt and published by Henry Frowde in 1904, are here employed by Mr. Horder, who is favorably known in this country by his "Treasury of American Sacred Song" and by his more recent lectures on Christian hymnody. Of his new material he has made skillful use in showing its reinforcement of Jesus' teaching in the canonical record. The basal interest of these discourses is in promoting "the true evangelicalism" which welcomes into fellowship all who acknowledge Christ as Master, however disagreeing otherwise.

Old Family Doctor (The). By Henry C. Brainerd, M.D. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland. 5×7½ in. 117 pages.

Pastor and Modern Missions (The): A Plea for Leadership in World Evangelization. By John R. Mott, M.A., F.R.G.S. Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, New York. 5×7½ in. 249 pages. $1, net.

Mr. Mott convincingly shows the point in which Christian missions need most invigoration. If Jesus intended the society which he gathered to be primarily a missionary society, it is for leadership of such a society that Christian pastors need to be capacitated even more than they need to be gifted in speech. But how rarely, if ever, is their capacity for this included in the scrutiny of the qualifications of a candidate for the pastoral charge! A serious responsibility of the training-schools for the ministry is not yet discharged. Such are the thoughts which this volume first of all suggests. It is a book which every pastor and every one who has to do with the induction of men into the ministry ought to read. What West Point is to the military efficiency of the Nation the pulpit is to the missionary efficiency of the Church.

Peel Collection and the Dutch School of Painting (The). By Sir Walter Armstrong. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 7×11 in. 82 pages. $2, net.

A particularly important contribution to the better understanding of Dutch art is this description by the Director of the National Gallery of Ireland of the Peel collection. The artists represented there give to him an opportunity of writing a monograph on Dutch painting which, we are glad to note, includes several Flemings directly affected by Holland. Sir Walter recounts the origin of the Dutch school, he describes the ideals of its best masters, and he considers their success in carrying out those ideals. The painters upon whom he chiefly depends for illustration are Metsu, Terborch, Vermeer, Hooghe, Jan Steen, Ostade, Willem and Adriaen van de Velde, Wouwerman, Hobbema, Ruisdael, Cuijp, Koninck, and Hals. While such artists as Terborch and Vermeer deal with the gentler classes, Jan Steen delineates the rougher, to which Brouwer provides a Flemish parallel. Sir Walter also interestingly establishes the connection between Brouwer and the five Teniers, after which naturally follows a consideration of Maes and Dou. We are then instructed as to landscape, city, sea, and animal painters, and the painters of still life. If the nature which all these men chose to illustrate was inferior in beauty to that on which Titian and Giorgione embroidered their decorations, no art, as our critic points out, has ever yet been condemned for the humbleness of its materials. The only weak point in the Dutch school is, as Sir Walter again acutely remarks, the incapacity of its artists to improve on those realities of external nature among which they sought their medium of expression.

Precious and Sacred Writings of Martin Luther. Vol. IV. **Church Postil Gospels.** Translated by Prof. John Nicholas Lenker, D.D. Lutherans in All Lands Co., Minneapolis, Minn. 5¼×8¼ in. 390 pages.

The so-called "Postils," *i. e.*, notes on the Gospels, which Luther prepared to be read in churches, are regarded as the best specimens of his preaching. In this volume twenty-four of these expository homilies appear for the first time in English. The Introduction, together with an account of the growth of the Lutheran Churches and the mission of Luther's writings, contains in an interesting statistical conspectus a comparison of Teutonic and Latin culture, of the population of Germany with that of British and Latin countries, and also the statistics of ecumenical Protestantism.

Queen's Knight Errant (The). By Beatrice Marshall. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 322 pages. $1.50.

An old-fashioned romance of the days of Raleigh, too high-flown in style to suit the present taste.

Rubáiyát of the Commuter (The): Being Quatrains Concerning the Affairs of Every Day. By Harry Persons Taber. John Bridges, Briarcliff Manor, New York. 2¾×6 in. 48 pages.

Parodies of the Rubáiyát multiply exceedingly. These try to be funny, and some of them are, and the little book is prettily printed.

St. Peter and His Training. By the Rev. John Davidson, M.A. (Temple Series of Bible Handbooks.) The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 4×5¼ in. 120 pages.

Following the New Testament account of the Apostle, and setting aside the critical questions it raises, the author finds evidence of its truth in its consistent realism as a portrait from life. The psychological problem involved in the story of Peter's denial of his

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Master is better handled, and more justly to Peter, than by most expositors.

Sermons Addressed to Individuals. By Reginald J. Campbell. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. 5×8 in. 328 pages. $1.25, net.

Some will read these sermons who will draw a parallel between them and the series of sermons which they recall from nearly half a century ago by F. W. Robertson, of that same Brighton where Mr. Campbell first made his power in the pulpit known. There is the same intense sympathy with men involved in the world's struggle, the same insight into the spiritual realities beneath the forms of words and things, the same grasp of moral values, the same insistence on the answer to all doubts and fears that is found in Christ. What Robertson's sermons were to his time, Campbell's will be to our time, if one may judge from this volume of them. It is lamentable that in another point than those already mentioned the parallel between these two preachers holds. Robertson was suspected of heresy, was accused of undermining the creed. It has lately come out that "a number of earnest people" are exerting themselves on the same grounds to discourage attendance on Mr. Campbell's ministry. As to this, he is reported as saying: "One thing which I think God has set me to do is to try to clear away the rubbish from some of the most familiar terms that we are in the habit of employing. We are trying to get back to moral values." Men who are doing that are the men the world wants to hear.

Story of Akimakoo, an African Boy (The). By Mary Muller. Illustrated. The A. Flanagan Co., New York. 5×7 in. 171 pages. 35c.

Talks to Men. By R. A. Torrey. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 138 pages. 75c., net.

The addresses contained in this volume were given to large audiences in Great Britain, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania, where Dr. Torrey has been conducting evangelistic missions. Like the feet of the Babylonian image described in the book of Daniel, they are a combination of iron and clay. They are strong on the moral side of the argument, and in that, after all, the undeniable power for good that accompanies Dr. Torrey's mission work resides. They are weak in the logic which aims to demonstrate to the intellect the entire inerrancy of the Bible—a doctrine which none of the great creeds puts forth, but which Dr. Torrey, with questionable wisdom, puts in the forefront of his argument. From the fact that Jesus quoted certain passages of the Old Testament as the word of God the conclusion is drawn that he authenticated everything in the Old Testament as such. "The entire New Testament" is held to be similarly authenticated by the fact that Jesus promised the Holy Spirit to the Apostles to secure their remembrance of his teachings. This must be held to put beyond doubt the story of Matthew that at the resurrection of Jesus many saints rose from their tombs and appeared in the city. Some influential British clergymen, in a booklet sold by the Unity Company, Chicago, have publicly protested against such arguments for the Bible as more harmful in their recoil than helpful in their discharge.

Under the Care of the Japanese War Office. By Ethel McCaul, R.R.C. Illustrated. Cassell & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 256 pages.

The author went out to Japan to inspect the Japanese Red Cross system and was allowed to see its actual working at the front. Her letters here collected have in them much of interest, but are overloaded with too detailed narrative of personal experiences.

Vainqueur (Un). Par Édouard Rod. Bibliothèque-Charpentier, Paris, France. 4½×7¾ in. 384 pages.

Those interested in child labor should read this volume. In simple, natural, unaffected, lucid style, M. Rod describes the shocking conditions which surround that labor in Paris. He gives to us no morbid, repulsively real, Zola-like study of these conditions. His picture is one of just perspective. His characters stand out in clean-cut outline. His plot evinces the deep insight both into temperament and motive which we might expect from the author who long ago, in his "Scènes de la Vie Suisse," showed that the literary world had become notably richer.

Western Europe in the Fifth Century: An Aftermath. By the Late E. A. Freeman, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 386 pages. $3.25.

It has been said, and well said, that the late Professor Freeman did more than any other man of his generation to revive in England the serious study of history. A historian of great breadth of view, of tireless diligence, and of a veritable passion for accuracy, he grasped the essential unity of history as it had seldom been grasped, and, bringing to bear the artillery of a wonderful erudition, waged an eminently successful campaign against prejudice and false theory. The possessor of a graphic style and imbued with a keen perception of symmetry, he could not, however, be called a popular historian in the accepted sense of the term. His custom of textually weighing, measuring, and arguing the slightest piece of evidence, of interlarding his narrative with citations and lengthy foot-notes, of repeating with hammer-like insistence the points he would drive home, combined to make his work not only learned but heavy—occasionally, indeed, dreary. Yet his writings abound in passages of rare beauty, terse, vigorous, and vivid prose. His qualities and defects are markedly apparent in the study in early European history, now first published twelve years after Mr. Freeman's death. The manuscript of this study was left in the rough, some chapters, as a matter of fact, being merely fragmentary; but the editors to whom its preparation was intrusted have made of the material at their command a comprehensive if somewhat loosely knit whole, a luminous narrative of the movements which in the course of the

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fifth century made such a radical political readjustment in western Europe. The period covered opens with the rise and fall of the British Constantine, and closes with Theodoric and Chlodowig. Leading the reader through Gaul and Spain, Professor Freeman traces the incursions, wars, and settlements of the barbarian peoples within the territory of the Roman Empire, and, at times from apparently the most hopeless of sources, the most fugitive of hints, reconstructs and invests with reality conditions of the far-distant past. Undoubtedly the work must be regarded as unfinished, but as it stands it is a welcome and helpful addition to historical literature.

Correspondence

Letters addressed to the Editors of The Outlook, to receive any attention whatever, must in all cases be accompanied by the name and address of the writer. Names will not be published if a request to that effect is made by the writer, but no attention, either personal or editorial, can be paid to anonymous communications.

Southern Representation

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I have watched with much interest the discussions and papers in recent numbers of The Outlook on the question of Southern representation in Congress. As an abstract question of right and wrong, I am inclined strongly to the belief that it is wrong to cut down the representation of a State because that State sees fit to cut down the number of those exercising the elective franchise. My reason for such a belief was stated very aptly by you in a recent issue of The Outlook, which is that representatives are sent to Congress, not to represent the male citizens over the age of twenty-one, but to represent the whole mass of the people.

If, however, we consider it as a question of Constitutional law, then we must be governed by a reasonable construction of the Constitution, and abstract right and wrong play a very small part in the matter.

In the Fourteenth Amendment it is recognized that the State could, if it saw fit, deny the right to vote to male citizens over the age of twenty-one. Now there are a multitude of reasons for which that right to vote might have been denied. It might have been denied to Mongolians, Turks, Jews, Germans, or Irishmen; or to those of black, yellow, red, or brown skin; or to those who had been under some condition of servitude; or to those who could not read and write; or to those who did not own property to a certain amount; or to those who had not paid their poll or property tax, etc., etc. There can be no question but that that right was recognized as being in the State; but if the State should exercise that right, it must pay a penalty, *i.e.*, their representation in Congress would be cut down to a certain extent.

Suppose the matter had been left in that form. Then, in the States where the whites had a majority, the negro could have been denied the right to vote simply because he was a negro. And in the States having a colored majority, the whites could have been deprived of their right to vote simply because they were white; the State, of course, having to suffer the penalty of having its representation cut down.

To avoid any such proceeding as that, the Nation, by the Fifteenth Amendment, selected three particular things, viz., race, color, and previous condition of servitude, and said that no State should deny to any of its citizens the right to vote by reason of any of those three things. But the Fifteenth Amendment in no way affects the State's right to deny suffrage for other reasons outside of those three, nor does it affect the penalty which the Federal Constitution imposes in case the State does deny that right for any other reason.

With all due respect for the opinion of Mr. Blaine, I do not believe that there is the least ground for his statement quoted in Mr. Knox's article in The Outlook of January 21, in which Mr. Blaine says: "When, therefore, the Nation, by subsequent change in its Constitution, declared that the State shall not exclude the negro from the right of suffrage, it neutralized and surrendered the contingent right before held, to exclude him from the basis of apportionment."

The State's right to deny suffrage is just the same since the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment as before, with this exception: that the State cannot deny suffrage on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. And the Federal penalty of cutting down the representation is untouched by the Fifteenth Amendment.

If Mr. Blaine and Mr. Knox are right in their contention that the Nation has lost its power to cut down the representation of a State as a penalty for that State's having denied the right to vote to certain of her male citizens over the age of twenty-one, then, of course, Mr. Platt's proposition can amount to nothing and the argument should end there; but I do not see how such a position can be maintained.

There can be no doubt that the Nation can cut down the representation of a State in Congress. The only question is whether the educational and property requirements which have been placed as a condition precedent amount to "denying" the right to vote to those who fail for any reason to meet the condition. It would not do to lay down the broad principle that educational and property requirements, or either, would not amount to denying the right to vote. For if we should,

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the State might require the prospective voter to read the Constitution in Greek or Hebrew, or to own a railroad. Such conditions would evidently have the effect of denying a great many of us the right to vote. If there are, then, conditions precedent which do not deny the right to vote to those who fail to meet them, such conditions must be very reasonable and very easily fulfilled.

It remains to be seen whether or not the educational and property requirements which have been placed as conditions precedent by some of the States constitute such a denial of the right to vote as is within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment; but in my opinion they do, and Mr. Platt's proposition to cut down their representation is perfectly proper as the Constitution now stands. THOMAS W. KEENAN.

Shenandoah, Iowa.

The Exchange of Professors Between America and Germany, and the Germanic Museum of Harvard University

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The widespread interest aroused by the German Emperor's plan to bring about a systematic exchange of professors between German and American universities makes it seem desirable to point out the intimate connection which exists between this project and the beginnings of the Germanic Museum of Harvard University.

In March, 1901, as a result of the Emperor's magnanimous initiative in donating to the Museum a superb collection of casts of monumental German sculptures, there was held in the Royal Museum of Arts and Crafts at Berlin a meeting to consider ways and means of furthering the propaganda for the Germanic Museum throughout Germany. One result of these deliberations, it may be said in parenthesis, has been the splendid collection of reproductions of ancient German gold and silver ware which, as a gift of the German people, now constitutes one of the finest treasures of our Museum, having formed during the last year a conspicuous part of the German industrial exhibit at St. Louis. The meeting was attended by Dr. Althoff, Commissioner-General of the Prussian universities; Dr. Schöne, Director-General of the Prussian museums; Dr. Lessing, Director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts; Professors Harnack, Paulsen, Brandl, Erich Schmidt, Wölfflin, of Berlin University; Ernst von Wildenbruch, the author; Rudolf Siemering, the sculptor; Arthur Gwinner, Director of the Deutsche Bank, and other men eminent in Berlin public life, together with a representative of Harvard University. The scope and the aims of our proposed Museum were set forth before this assembly; the fact was emphasized that it was designed not only as a storehouse of typical productions of the Germanic past, but also, in accordance with the well-known intentions of the Emperor, as a connecting link between modern Germany and modern America; and the hope was expressed that it would ultimately develop into an institution to which German professors might be called to lecture to Harvard students on German history, literature, art, and thought.

This meeting was followed, during the next few weeks, by repeated conferences with Dr. Althoff, in the course of which this able, progressive, and far-sighted administrator evinced the greatest readiness to enter into arrangements which would make the carrying out of these international plans possible. The upshot of these conferences was the draft of a provisional agreement between the Prussian Government and Harvard University, according to which for a period of five successive years an exchange of professors between Harvard and Berlin University was to be instituted, in such a manner that every year one member of each of the two institutions would enter for at least three months the regular teaching staff of the other institution, it being understood that in each case the visiting member represent subjects or methods distinctly peculiar to his country. This scheme, which met with the hearty support of President Eliot, was discussed and approved a year later by the Harvard Faculty, and reached its consummation a few months ago, when, through the intercession of Professor Harnack, an official proposition embodying it was made by the Prussian Government to the Harvard Corporation, and adopted by the same. It is most fortunate that the German Emperor, with his quick grasp of international relations and his deep sympathy for the American people, has now given to this whole subject a much wider scope by proposing to extend the exchange of professors to other universities in America and Germany; for it seems as though such a measure could not fail to open the way toward a veritable fraternization of the moral, intellectual, and industrial leaders of both nations.

Is not this the time for Americans to bestow renewed interest and effective support upon that American institution of learning which was the first to attract the friendly attention both of the German Emperor and the German people, and which was chiefly instrumental in furthering the plan of an international exchange of scholars that now has come to be a fact? The splendid gifts of the German Emperor and the German people to the Germanic Museum of Harvard University are still housed in a manner entirely unbecoming their intrinsic beauty and their historical significance. May we not hope that before the first representative of Berlin University arrives to take up his duties as professor at Harvard University, there will have been brought together sufficient means to give a worthy background to the noble representatives of the German past now so inadequately sheltered?

KUNO FRANCKE,
Curator of the Germanic Museum.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company

To the Members:—

The experience of The Connecticut Mutual in its fifty-ninth year was satisfactory and may be thus outlined: Some increase in the new business written, in the amount of business in force, in premium income, in interest and rents, in assets and in surplus; a somewhat heavier mortality than in the preceding year, though still considerably less than that expected, giving a saving of $252,823, with no outstanding contested claims; a considerable decrease in the amount and cost of foreclosed real estate; a recovery in the market value of other securities of over $576,000 as against the shrinkage of about $770,000 in 1903; a reduction in the ratio of expense to income; a sound condition throughout. The company continues in that steady, full tide of beneficent operation which has for so many years distinguished it among all others, by administrative methods which hold always one grand object in view: a maximum of result to its beneficiaries at a minimum of cost to its policy-holders, each and all.

All details will be found in the financial statement which accompanies this report.

An Interesting Summary

A summary of the operations of fifty-nine years may be stated thus: Received from policy-holders, $232,759,264.33; returned to policy-holders and their beneficiaries, $234,353,488.98, or $1,594,224.65 more than the amount received from them; with assets in hand of $65,224,841.53, and a surplus of $4,828,696.64 with which to meet a liability, actual and contingent, of $60,396,144.89 on $167,167,515.00 at risk on 70,454 policies. Except in the possible case of some society or concern with only a local and slight membership, no comparable results have been accomplished by any other American life insurance company.

Persistence of Business

As for many years past, a most gratifying feature of our experience has been the persistence of our business. It has been no small factor in the company's prosperity. Business which goes off rapidly can be replaced rapidly only at an undue cost. Business which stays costs little, and permits the taking of new business sufficient for a uniform good experience at such moderate cost as does not disturb the favorable average. That is one of the simple secrets of the Connecticut Mutual's unequaled success.

New Business: Its Character and Cost

The new business of the year somewhat exceeded that of 1903, and also exceeded the amount of business ceasing: so that there was some increase in the amount in force. The new business was selected with our usual constant care to take only such risks as are likely to give the same favorab mortality experience which has been so large factor in reducing the actual yearly cost of ou insurance hitherto; and it has been taken on th same low basis of cost which has been directl reflected in our large dividends to policy-holde throughout the company's lifetime.

To the faithful agents who in the midst of thoroughly demoralized competition, and despit the always pressing temptation of much highe commissions and allowances from others, choose t abide steadfast in our service because of its greate value to those whose need they sincerely seek t serve, there is due alike from the management an from the policy-holders benefited thereby, the dis tinct and constant recognition of the high, unselfis quality of their labors for the greater good of th whole membership.

Relation of Mortality to New Business

The public is often given to understand that as large and rapid influx of new business tends for time to keep down the average age of the busines as a whole, and so to make the death losses appea a smaller percentage of the whole amount at risk it really gives a comparatively better mortalit experience, and therefore justifies its abnormal cos This is not true. It belies the whole basis an structure of life insurance. It is worth a moment' examination:—

Take 10,000 sound men, aged 30, insured fo $10,000 each, or $100,000,000, altogether. We kno within safe limits how many of these men will di each year until all are gone; we charge each on the premium adequate to meet that rate of loss, an from the premiums make the proper reserves. Th first year only 84 will die, the company will pay ou $840,000, or only eighty-four one-hundredths of per cent. of the amount at risk; twenty years late there will be 8,180 of these men living, with $81,800 000 at risk; 124 of them will die that year, the com pany will pay out $1,240,000, or 1½ per cent. of th amount at risk; in the fortieth year 4,418 will b living, with $44,180,000 at risk, 265 will die, th company will pay out $2,650,000, or about 6 pe cent. of the amount at risk; in the fiftieth year ther will be 1,770 living, with $17,700,000 at risk, 230 wi die, the company will pay out $2,300,000, or 13 pe cent. of the amount at risk; in the sixtieth yea only 216 will be living, with $2,160,000 at risk, 6 will die, the company will pay out $630,000, or abou 30 per cent. of the amount at risk. But the morta ity which in the sixtieth year of the business call for 30 per cent. of the amount at risk is just a normal and just as favorable to the company as tha which in the first year called for only eighty-fou one-hundredths of 1 per cent.; and if the compan has charged the proper premiums and kept th

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proper reserves it is just as well prepared to pay the 30 per cent. as it was to pay the eighty-four one hundredths of 1 per cent.; and if the business was well selected and well located, the chances for a mortality more favorable than that calculated for, with a consequent saving on losses, have been equally good all the way through.

No amount of forcing at whatever cost can always keep the inflow of new business greater than the outgo of the old. In the nature of things the day will inevitably come with any company, when its amount at risk must come to a practical standstill, and the age of its business and the consequent ratio of its death losses to the amount at risk reach the maximum average. In that day the greater the amount at risk and the higher the cost at which it was obtained, the greater will be the struggle and the higher the cost of keeping it at even a standstill.

Securities

The corporate securities held by us are of the highest class. Their par value is $25,361,070; they cost $25,685,116, and are worth in the market $26,694,418, or $1,009,302 more than their cost, and $1,333,348 more than their par value. The year 1903 saw an almost unprecedented shrinkage in the market value of such securities, that upon our own holdings aggregating $770,000. The past year has seen a large recovery toward what may generally be regarded as an average normal valuation. Some of our securities affected by the shrinkage have been sold; the recovery on those still held is over $576,000.

Real Estate and Loans

One of the most remarkable, as it was the most unforeseen incident of the financial history of the last two decades, has been the changes wrought in the conditions affecting the values of city real estate, caused mainly by the development of street-car service. Before the advent of the electric trolley living at a distance from business centers was difficult and expensive. Population tended to gather compactly in their near proximity. It spread only as it was forced outward by the spread of business. This tended to both increase and steadiness in values and to certainty in their realization. To-day the electric street-car, with its speed, its comfort, and its accessibility, the free mail delivery and the telephone, have largely reversed the conditions and are leading the population to spread out freely in search of space, light, air, more privacy, and cheaper land. The older settled parts of most of our larger cities thus find themselves in an active competition which can be met only by a reduction in prices which but a few years ago were justified by every measurable condition then in sight. For obvious reasons this great change has caused individual losses which have led to many foreclosures of loans justifiably made under former conditions of higher and supposedly stable values, and the dullness of the real estate market, due in some part to the continued operation of the changes noted, have in many cases compelled the lender to become the owner of the security.

In all this experience this company has had its share along with others. It now has foreclosed real estate which cost it $8,678,593. This is being gradually absorbed; some at a profit, some at a loss. Among our liabilities we carry an item for contingent depreciation of about $350,000. We intend to make no unnecessary sacrifices. So far our profit and loss account on foreclosed real estate as a whole is $1,368,943 to the good.

In our present more limited loans upon this class of property, we are taking such account of the conditions referred to as we believe will guard against a future repetition of past experiences.

Notwithstanding the conditions which have changed and unsettled real estate values in many localities, and which are still in progress, it may well be that when they shall have become more completely developed and their operations more fully defined and their inherent limitations better understood, real estate, on the resultant basis of values, may recover much of its former favor, especially in view of the growing difficulties in obtaining out of the great flood of corporate securities those of a thoroughly conservative character and for which the future demand is likely to be far greater than any possible supply. The funds asking thoroughly safe investment, whether by savings banks, insurance companies, trustees of institutions and estates, or private individuals, need to have available every form of security that offers a stable basis of income and of ultimate value.

The Business Ideal of the Connecticut Mutual

Every business or enterprise undertaken for a distinct and particular service to the public, and which assumes to offer men something they truly need, and something for which those who need it should be willing to pay its true and necessary cost, carries within itself an ideal of method peculiar and necessary to the purpose intended, appropriate and effective to the form of result intended and essential to its perfect realization.

Especially is this true of mutual life insurance. It takes note of the great fact that he who has married a wife and made her dependent on him, and brought into the world helpless children yet more dependent, has assumed toward them and toward society itself a responsibility not only for their daily bread, but for all the manifold needs of their whole dependent future, which he cannot shirk and remain a true man; a responsibility which, in the great majority of cases, it takes his whole normal lifetime rightly to discharge, and one which his earlier decease must leave unfulfilled, to the great loss and injury of his dependent ones. And the risk, the danger of this loss, rests upon them day by day and every day. In the great majority of cases there is in hand no financial provision fully adequate and available to replace for all their future that which his family would lose in his death. There is but one way in which that provision can be made at once and kept always

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ready and secure. He must insure his life for the benefit of those who will lose by its loss. In no otherwise can his responsibility be fulfilled for their whole future, which is as much his to provide for as is their present.

And it is this which we offer to do for him, for them; to take his money while he lives and, to the fullest extent that money, much or little, enables us, to provide for them when he is gone. It is a sober undertaking; it is his duty; it is our trust. And because it is his duty, and a transaction whose benefit goes to others, but whose burden falls on him, and in order that the benefit may be as great as possible to those who need it, and that in proportion to the benefit given the burden on him may be as small as possible, we offer to do the business on the mutual plan; to make no profit out of it for stockholders, but to charge him a premium which is certain to be adequate, and then, year by year, by careful selection of risks, by proper investment of reserves, and by economy in expenses, to save as much of that premium as possible and return it to him year by year, so that each year he gets his insurance at its actual yearly cost to the company.

And the full meaning of mutuality is, that what the plan does for one it does equally for each one. It does not set up a scheme of deferred dividends for twenty years, make each man pay his full premium each year regardless of what the actual cost has been for the year, make him leave with the company each year's surplus from his premiums, to be forfeited if he dies or lapses, and to be finally divided up by the one-third—more or less—of those who survive and pay throughout the term; a speculation by each one in what he hopes he may not lose but some one else will; a pool to which all contribute, but which a few only will divide; a gamble as to who those few shall be. True mutuality in life insurance does not thus seek to favor a few at the expense of the many—to give the few what the many have lost. It charges each man a premium proportioned to his risk, and so charges every man alike. It ascertains each year each man's like proportion of the actual cost of the whole year's operation; and, returning to each man what he has paid in excess of his due part of that cost, gives to every policy-holder alike his insurance at its actual cost, with no discrimination in favor of any one, with no hardship upon any one. Each pays his own actual cost; each gets back his own contribution to the surplus created by all alike.

That is the ideal purpose and that is the ideal method—the actual "square deal"—of mutual life insurance.

How truly and steadfastly The Connecticut Mutual has held to these ideals, and in what unequaled measure it has realized for its members and for their beneficiaries their best result, is told through all its history, and each recurring year witnesses it anew.

Respectfully submitted,

JACOB L. GREENE,
President.

January 23, 1905.

59th Annual Statement
of the
CONNECTICUT MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
Of Hartford, Conn.

NET ASSETS, January 1, 1904,		$63,211,528.89
RECEIVED IN 1904.		
For Premiums,	$5,411,377.44	
For Interest and Rents,	2,958,582.95	
		8,369,960.39
		$71,581,489.28
DISBURSED IN 1904.		
For claims by death, matured endowments, and annuities,	$5,430,800.32	
Surplus returned to policy-holders,	1,151,427.43	
Lapsed and Surrendered Policies,	652,367.07	
TOTAL TO POLICY-HOLDERS,	$7,234,594.82	
Commissions to Agents, Salaries, Medical Examiners' Fees, Printing, Advertising, Legal, Real Estate, all other Expenses,	1,000,830.29	
TAXES,	387,279.47	
Profit and Loss,	37,409.10	
		8,660,113.68
BALANCE NET ASSETS, Dec. 31, 1904,		$62,921,375.60
SCHEDULE OF ASSETS.		
Loans upon Real Estate, first lien,		$24,752,965.08
Loans upon Stocks and Bonds,		30,000.00
Loans upon Policies of this Company,		178,800.00
Premium Notes on Policies in force,		512,020.80
Cost of Home Office Property,		1,916,236.00
Cost of Real Estate owned by Company,		8,678,593.03
Cost of Bonds,		24,856,039.76
Cost of Bank and Railroad Stocks,		829,076.25
Cash in Banks,		1,166,761.50
Bills receivable,		225.56
Agents' Debit Balances,		658.34
		$62,921,375.60
ADD		
Interest due and accrued,	$912,697.01	
Rents due and accrued,	14,311.92	
Market value of stocks and bonds over cost,	1,009,301.99	
Net uncollected and deferred premiums,	368,038.91	
	$2,304,349.83	
Less Bills Receivable and Agents' Debit Balances,	883.90	
		$2,303,465.93
ADMITTED ASSETS, December 31, 1904,		$65,224,841.53
LIABILITIES:		
Amount required to re-insure all outstanding Policies, net, Company's standard,	$58,229,205.00	
All other liabilities,	2,166,939.89	
		$60,396,144.89
SURPLUS,		$4,828,696.64
Ratio of expenses of management to receipts in 1904,		11.96 per cent.
Policies in force Dec. 31, 1904, 70,454, insuring,		$167,167,515.00

JACOB L. GREENE, President.
JOHN M. TAYLOR, Vice-Prest.
HERBERT H. WHITE, Secretary.
DANIEL H. WELLS, Actuary.

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